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ABSTRACT

The potential relevance of community development in the development of a teacher training program is discussed. The discussion is comprised of: (1) the deliberations of a Community Development consortium; (2) a condensed version of the material abstracted in a literature search; (3) a conceptual mapping of the field, with brief listings of relevant facts; and (4) a final summation. The format of the abstracts is as follows: author, bibliographical data, a descriptive statement as to the nature of the item, any data-supported points or points known to be data supportable, assertions made by the sources, authors' recommendations, and comments when applicable. The information contained in the abstracts is then categorized and presented under the following headings: The Breakdown of the Community in Large Urban Areas; Problems of Identity; Difficulties in Cross-Cultural Communication; Holistic Approach; Identity Change; and Improving the Teacher's Cross-Cultural Knowledge and Skills. Following a discussion of how knowledge of community development is relevant to teachers of disadvantaged youth, it is concluded that community development's practices may provide educators with new insights, as well as new solutions to problems. For related documents, see ED 050 300-302 and ED 050 304-306. (CK)

ED 050 303

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

A FINAL REPORT

PART IV

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by

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PREFACE

This is the fifth of a series of reports concerned with the teaching of disadvantaged children. They are the direct outcome of the proposal funded as part of the U.S. Office of Education's T.T.T. Project. The initial proposal was presented under the names of Samuel R. Keys, Raymond S. Adams and William D. Hedges as co-project directors and Bob G. Woods as Dean of the College of Education. Prior to the writing of the proposal, a planning committee after deliberating over general priorities agreed on the focus that was adopted in the present undertaking. That committee comprised: Robert R. Wheeler, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Mo., William D. Hedges, (then) Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Clayton, Mo., (now) Chairman of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Missouri at Columbia, and also from the University of Missouri at Columbia, Samuel R. Keys, Associate Dean of the College of Education, W. Francis English, Dean of Arts and Science, Donald O. Cowgill, Professor of Sociology, Ralf C. Bedell, Professor of Education, and Raymond S. Adams, Associate Professor of Social Research, Education and Sociology.

This present report confines its attention to the potential relevance of community development in the development of a teacher training program. It represents only one section of the initial phase of what was planned, as a multi-phase project. In order to set the present report in perspective it is useful to outline the rationale that lies behind the whole scheme.

We started initially depressed and impressed by the fact that for the disadvantaged child, the consequences of disadvantage are a deprived and unhappy past, a drab and unpromising present and a future beset with hopelessness. We recognized that if education were to combat the deprivations of disadvantage, it would have to undergo substantial reform and improvement. However, whatever the nature of this reform and improvement might be, it would be of no use if the teachers of disadvantaged children remained incompetent to deal with their unique educational problem. For this reason, we felt that the most immediate task was to go about training teachers who could operate

successfully with disadvantaged children--irrespective of the extent to which school systems had undergone organisational and economic reform themselves.

We were led by our emphasis on teaching to focus initially on the teacher-pupil transaction. In the most down-to-earth terms, the educational process requires the teacher to act as an intermediary between the child and the subject matter of the curriculum. As an intermediary, the teacher translates subject matter into forms appropriate for the level of conceptual development of the child. How efficient the teacher is then, depends on (a) her subject matter competency, (b) her ability to understand the child's conceptual state, and (c) her ability to mediate between the two. It has been clearly demonstrated (Coleman, 1968) that teachers have failed spectacularly as mediators for the disadvantaged child. Available evidence suggests that this failure stems not from ignorance of subject matter but rather from a lack of understanding of how the disadvantaged child thinks, how he feels and how he 'sees' the world around him.

While the problem may be stated in relatively simple terms, solutions cannot be. What we have here, is an 'understanding-gap' that separates the teacher from the taught--the ghetto dweller from the mainstream of American life. And this is a culture gap--sometimes as wide if not wider than the gap between American culture and say Japanese. The illustration may be overly dramatic, but the ingredients are the same. The two cultures, ghetto and non-ghetto, are grossly ignorant of each others ways of life. Egocentrically and ethnocentrically, they perceive their own virtues and the other's vices, seldom seeing their own vices and the other's virtues. Because the two cultures have long been separated, their respective inhabitants have seldom felt constrained to examine their intercultural relationships. Now with protest and discontent burgeoning, and intercultural 'incidents' increasing, we have become aware of the need to pay attention to the social problem in our midst. What we see does not enchant. We have, in the case of the disadvantaged it seems, tangible evidence that violates the American dream.

But merely to identify the problem and become intensely concerned, is not to solve it. Solution depends on overcoming the inertia of

history--the social conditions that led to the extremes of poverty and disadvantage. They are, though we may be unwilling to admit it, still with us to a considerable degree. We have eliminated the practices of slavery but the attitudes that made it socially acceptable in the first place, have only undergone slight evolutions. Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the economically unsuccessful, still reflect older beliefs in the social, moral and intellectual inadequacy of those who can be so classified. Given the irrationality of such attitudes and beliefs, and given their dysfunctional social consequences, reform is patently necessary. But the task is obviously a mammoth one. It will not be accomplished by haphazard, piece-meal attacks on selected problems here and there. Nor will it be accomplished immediately. We can anticipate that efforts at amelioration will intensify over the years, in range, in scope and in focus. One focus, and we think a critically important one, will be education. However, education has not yet served the disadvantaged community well. It too is bowed down by its own inertia. Consequently, if education is to change, it too will have to do more than make minor modifications to its venerable structure.

Because we believed that educational change in the training of teachers of disadvantaged children would need to be substantial, we envisaged (i) the development of a comprehensive and integrated 'system' (in the systems theory sense of the word) for training teachers of the underprivileged so that they become experts in understanding the world of the disadvantaged; (ii) the implementation of that system as both pre-service and in-service teacher training programs, and most importantly, (iii) the utilization of this system in-action as a training program for the trainers of teachers of the disadvantaged.

However, another assumption underlay our initial planning. We did not necessarily believe that all change must necessarily be for the better. We were convinced that some needless expenditure of money and effort could be avoided by careful and systematic planning. We also believed that careful and systematic planning would be facilitated if advantage were taken of whatever up-to-date knowledge relevant to the problem could be gathered, evaluated and used. Because we thought that a substantial amount of the knowledge available in the social sciences about the world of the disadvantaged child would be relevant,

we argued that it should therefore be accumulated, distilled and, when approved, be incorporated into our new system for training teachers.

While in accordance with the Triple T requirements, our principal objective was to provide a training program that would be viable for preparing trainers of teachers of the underprivileged, we held that such viability cannot be demonstrated unless competent teachers are being produced. Thus, hand in hand with the main objective went a correlative one of developing a program for the actual training of teachers. This program for teachers of underprivileged children then would serve two purposes: (1) to provide concrete evidence of the practical results of the system, (2) to provide a continuing source of evaluation of and feedback to the main programs.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the training of teachers involves more than the trainers themselves. It involves curricula, equipment, plant, and, in fact, all the paraphernalia of the entire teaching program. Consequently, any improvement in any of these is, in effect, an improvement of the trainer. The project provided not only for improvement in the training of the trainers, but also improvement in teaching aids and curricula as well. Further, it provided for improvement in the quality of supplementary training given by school administrators and supervisory teachers. Finally, in order to follow through, it provided for the development of a completely new trainer-training program per se.

The program can best be seen as a series of interrelated Tasks. These Tasks cluster for form four major Operations. These Operations are respectively: (1) research and development: (2) activation, (3) dissemination; and (4) application. Operation 1 represents the 'planning stage', Operation 2 represents the 'pilot stage', and Operations 3 and 4 represent the 'operating stage'. The present report is concerned only with one aspect of Operation 1. As such it is consistent with the other aspects of Operation 1. They all employ the same strategy. It is different from the others in that its focus is on community development.

Rationale. Educational action should be based on scientifically gleaned information. Regrettably, there is no empirical evidence available that adequately specifies the consequences of any program

for the disadvantaged. Educators cannot say with assurance 'if you do so and so with disadvantaged children, then such and such will result'. The best available information at the moment consists of teachers' 'good ideas'--the assembled 'folk wisdom' of the past. Regrettably the worst available information also comes from the same source. This folk wisdom as we have seen, has been grossly inadequate in meeting the needs of the disadvantaged child. This is partly because there is no a priori basis for distinguishing between the best and the worst, and partly because no attempts have been made to accumulate, integrate and organize the insights and understandings that expert practitioners have. However, other social sciences have been concerned with the under-privileged for some time. They have evidence and insights that could be valuable if adapted to educational purposes. Given the criticism of current educational practice, it seems wise at this point in time, to take advantage of any scientifically derived evidence no matter its origin, provided that in the judgement of educationists, it is seen as potentially useful.

The problem that initially confronted us then was to select among the different social science areas available. The relevancy of psychology and sociology were, we thought, both self-evident. So was that area of educational research devoted specifically to the disadvantaged. We also felt that Social Work, with its direct contact with inner city life-styles would also prove fruitful. We deliberated somewhat longer before agreeing to include the fields of Community Development and Linguistics. We justified both selections for different reasons. Linguistics merited inclusion, we reasoned, because of the central part language plays in the educative process. On the other hand, because the development of communities--new communities--was one basic assumption upon which our whole reformative approach was based, we assumed that new communities would (eventually) be developed both within the 'education system' and within society at large. If our new teachers were to be part of the process then they would be better prepared to deal with it, we reasoned, were they familiar with what Community Development had to offer.

To the resulting six social science areas we added a seventh that could not be strictly classified as scientific. We felt that

practical experience should not be completely disregarded. We knew that teachers had insights and understandings that were invaluable. The fact that they were not necessarily well documented in the literature or well integrated in the way that an academic theoretician might systematise his understandings, was not a sufficient deterrent to prevent our attempting to probe this area too.

Our intention then was to attempt to establish a bridge between education and each of these areas. To mix the metaphor, we wished to begin a process of translation into educationally useful terms of what might otherwise be regarded as exotic and esoteric information exclusively the property of the social sciences.

Our strategy in approaching each of the areas was the same in each case. It was twofold. First, we were to assemble a group of five acknowledged leaders in the field and confront them with the question: "Given what insights you have into your area and knowledge you have about it, what do you consider the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand." In the discussion that ensued, the task of the moderator (an educationist) was to confine attention to this single-minded question and to probe the implications of the point raised. Initial experimentation led us to conclude that an all day session (with suitable breaks) provided optimal returns. The discussion was tape-recorded and the resulting transcript then provided a permanent record of currently salient ideas. The second strategy entailed an extensive search of contemporary literature. This was to be undertaken by graduate students in the specific areas. Because they knew available sources, and because their conceptual orientation would be a function of their recent training, they would, we thought, provide the best media. They were initially instructed in the objectives of the exercise and the frames of reference they were to use. They too had to adopt a similar single-minded focus--the relevancy of the writings they were examining for the teacher who was teaching disadvantaged children. They were charged to: (1) survey all contemporary writing that dealt with the disadvantaged condition; (ii) abstract from each example whatever was thought to be (even remotely) relevant to the central issue, (iii) organize the abstracts so that listed after the bibliographical data were (a) a statement of

facts that were empirically supported (or were known to be empirically supportable), (b) a statement of assertions not empirically supported, (c) any relevant recommendations made within the article, and (d) where thought necessary, any comments. The abstracted material was then recorded onto McBee cards. Subsequently, the complete array of McBee cards was studied in order that a basis for conceptual mapping of the whole area could be developed. Thereupon, the McBee cards were again examined, this time to relate their content to the respective conceptual categories. This completed, we would then have a systematically ordered and organized set of information on which the next stage of the planning process could build. The next stage was to involve the construction of a set of behavioral objectives consonant with the distilled information, and appropriate for teachers of disadvantaged children.

This present report presents the outcomes of the examination of the Community Development area. Specifically it records (i) the deliberations of the Community Development consortium, (ii) a condensed version of the material abstracted in the literature search, (iii) a conceptual mapping of the field, accompanied by brief listings of relevant facts, and (iv) a final summation. The report has been organized on two assumptions. First that the gathering together of Community Development information relevant to the education of the disadvantaged would prove useful to those concerned with developing teacher training programs. In this sense, the report is a source book. Second, that the outcomes of our own deliberations on the problems of educating disadvantaged children might also prove helpful to others who have similar concerns. However, because we recognize that the planners of training programs are as uniquely individualistic as the problems they confront, our emphasis is on the first rather than the second. Most readers, we assume, will make use of the first three sections. We of course, will make most use of the fourth. It will provide the pad from which the next step of practical implementation will be launched.

As well as the co-directors a number of people involved in this part of the project should receive special mention. Initially,fiscal responsibility for the project rested with Dean Keys. When he accepted appointment at Kansas State University the task was taken up by

B. Charles Leonard. Steve Flance, David Hess and Paul Derstine took main responsibility for the literature search under the general supervision of Gred Gies and Barney Madden. Both of the latter had additional administrative and organisational responsibilities. A further liaison task was added to the load carried by Charles Leonard and Fred Gies when the author of the report took up temporary residence in New Zealand. The report was typed by Kirsten Morgan who also ensured the necessary coordination of activities here. As a research assistant Terence Halliday contributed to the successful completion of the project.

Raymond S. Adams,
Palmerston North,
October 1970.

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SECTION I

This section is devoted entirely to the consortium held in New York in January 1970. The participants were:

Dr. Dan Dodson,
Center for Urban Relations and Community Studies,
New York University.

Professor Warren Haggstrom,
School of Social Welfare,
University of California at Los Angeles.

Professor Howard M. McClusky,
Community Adult Education,
University of Michigan.

Professor Rich W. Poston,
Research Professor,
Southern Illinois University.

Professor Irwin T. Sanders,*
Department of Sociology,
Boston University.

Professor Ronald L. Warren,
Advanced Studies - Social Welfare,
Brandeis University.

and, as moderator,

Professor Raymond S. Adams,
College of Education, and
Center for Research in Social Behavior,
University of Missouri at Columbia.

The pages that follow contain a record of the discussion that transpired. An observer at the meeting would have been impressed with the degree of single-mindedness displayed by the Community Developers in response to the demand put on them. Perhaps because of their recognition of the importance of education, perhaps because of their extensive association with problems of underprivilege or perhaps because of their professional training, their obvious concern was to

* Owing to illness Professor Sanders was not able to attend.

help us solve our educational problems. It may be that in the editing of the manuscript, this sense of integrity of purpose has been lost--if so the editor apologises for the gross injustice done. Hopefully, the apology is unnecessary.

Several conventions have been used in editing the transcript. First the speakers have not been identified separately although the moderator has--so that his community development naivete will not be mistakingly attributed to the experts. Speakers are denoted with one asterisk, the moderator with two. Second, an attempt has been made to preserve the essential messages of the discussion faithfully. However-in order to go part-way towards meeting the expectations that readers might have about printed script, an attempt has been made to convert oral language forms to those thought appropriate for written language.

Discussion begins at the point where the moderator is giving a brief resume of the nature of the project.

** *I think that perhaps the best thing I can do at first it to indicate briefly what the project is about and recapitutate some of the things that most of you know. Then we should engage in free-form discussion. I've got some focussing questions that I would like to ask later on.*

The whole project was developed as a response to the U.S. Office of Education's invitation to us (together with other universities) to consider ways in which we might go about the business of reforming teacher training. When the invitation was made to us, we decided that education of the disadvantaged was both salient to us and in need of great attention. Having come to this conclusion we tried to work out a strategy that would allow us to do the job properly. The basic assumption we made was that if we were going to reform teacher training we should start from first premises. We were aware of the fact that there was not enough empirical evidence to provide a really substantial basis to the development of <u>any</u> program. We were aware of the fact that there was lack of information in a number of areas. We were also aware however, that certain social science areas and social action areas would have access to information likely to be relevant to the teaching of disadvantaged youngsters, but which was unknown to educators.

So we decided to go to five non-education fields, specifically: sociology; social psychology, socio-linguistics; social work and community development; and ask one rather single-minded question, viz; "Given the knowledge, insight and understanding available in your area, what do you think the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand?" We recognized that the approach was a limited approach because theoretically if you are going to do a really good job of educating disadvantaged youngsters, system reform as well as reform in the teaching sector is also needed. Nonetheless, we also recognized that irrespective of whether or not you achieved system reform, the teacher still has got to teach children so our job is to make her task as simple as possible. So, having gotten this basic orientation, we adopted two strategies, one of which you see employed at the moment. We collected groups of experts in these specified areas of ours and sat them down with our one question and discussed it. From each discussion we acquired a tape recording from which an edited transcript provides an up-to-date view of the most salient ideas in each area. Coincidentally, we conducted an intensive bibliographical search going on in each of the areas. Each search was undertaken by graduate students in the relevant area. The community development literature search is being completed now. Our remaining task, when the information is gleaned from both sources, is to organize and filter it in such a way that it becomes useful to education. When it has been through the education filtering process, we then go to our own program developers and say that we have some insights, some understandings, that appear to make very good educational sense. Their problem will then be to incorporate them into a teacher training program--a program that has its computer assisted instruction, its programmed teaching devices, its community visitation components, its simulated situations, its textbooks. In fact, it has everything that makes up a curriculum. Next we take this curriculum and put it into practice on a trial basis to allow us to evaluate the effectiveness of the whole program. Then we modify it and proceed with what we think will be as scientifically based as any program could be at this point in the twentieth century.

So far we have been delighted with the results of each of the

discussions. Our proposal, of course, was put forward with a little bit of trepidation because we didn't know what was going to happen. But because of the free, frank and sometimes swinging discussions we have had in all of the consortia we've discovered new ways of looking at the problem--ways that education doesn't characteristically adopt.

My reason for including community development in the study was perhaps naive on face value, but it seemed to me that if in fact teachers are teaching children in communities, and if the teachers make certain assumptions about the nature of the communities and what it takes to change the community, the whole tenor of their teaching will reflect their assumptions. It seemed to me that often their assumptions would likely be in error--that they could assume, for instance, that it's an easy matter to change a community, with the result that if the children they teach belong to parents who have lived in ghettos for a long time and haven't succeeded in inducing change, the teachers can readily jump to the conclusion that it's the ghetto dweller's fault. It seemed to me that if this were incorporated into their teaching attitude, then in fact they could do a considerable amount of damage to the youngster. That was my initial assumption but given the demonstration of the other consortia, it seems to me that there are many other things that are likely to come out beyond this first naive assumption. That's it basically. Would you like to ask questions?

* Would it be useful for us to talk a little about the frames of reference from which we see these problems so that you get some notion of what our particular lines are--so that you can account for the perspectives we have. Could we do that without getting off so far that we get lost?

** Let me answer a little indirectly. I will want to come back constantly to the questions; "What do you think the teacher etc." and the basic problems she has in dealing with her youngsters. Now if I can take out of your question the idea that it will be helpful if teachers are aware of the orientations that community development people take, then I think the answer to your question is yes. Let me add a couple of other thoughts though. For my sins I did teach a couple of courses in a community development program once. I have been exposed to the position taken by the Biddles and their writings. I know a

little bit about community development philosophy. Nonetheless, I was very intrigued to hear in the earlier pre-session discussion that you don't work through community consensus all the time. Sometimes you work through dissenting groups. So, maybe it would be comfortable for a little while to visit with the point that you made, but I will at some stage want to return to a concentration on the teacher.

* *It seems to me that where there is no great difference in power relations within a community, there is the tendency, the need, to work through consensus, through involvement, through participation, through earned leadership roles and this kind of thing. Out of it comes the community's getting together, putting its shoulder to the wheel, organizing to do things for itself that can only be done by collective action of this sort. On the other hand, where there are wide differences within the power arrangements of the community--the 'powerful' and the 'powerless' relatively speaking--that education either takes a few of the bright ones of the powerless and washes them, alienates them from their heritage, makes them ashamed of their heritage, their background, and then ultimately transmutes them into ideal of the powerful. This is an arrangement that constantly siphons off from the powerless to the powerful. This goes on all the time, of course, but either you do it that way or else the powerless group itself has to take power and come to community decision-making as peers in decision-making processes. In such an instance the group has to find leverages to power and the community goes through tremendous turmoil while this is happening. Education loses a clear sense of direction as to where it is going because the power base on which it rests is split frequently.*

* *I'd like to comment on one aspect of this important point you're making and say that the formal educational system as born of our society is one of the most important instruments of social control, if not the most important instrument. We think of it as a socialization institution but socialization is the most important origin of social control. You get people to think in ways which meet social expectations and get them socialized into this kind of thing by getting them 'well adjusted to the existing system'. Now I think that one of the important aspects of this business--of the choice between siphoning off*

leadership and working from a consensus of elited (including those elites who have been siphoned off from disadvantaged groups)--and working with interacting competition and sometimes even contest between these various groups--part of the problem is that disadvantaged groups are gradually coming to recognize the tremendous importance of the school system as a socializing process which all too often socializes children from disadvantaged backgrounds <u>into</u> low aspiration levels, into adjustment to a kind of a situation which they <u>should not</u> be adjusted to. It socializes them into shame for their own cultural heritage, their own parents and so on. And, let's face it, in the case of blacks, of course, into a notion that all too often being black constitutes a definite social handicap so that if they are to be realistic they must recognize this and behave accordingly. I don't think we can get away from the fact that the school system is bound up in the very struggle between different parts of our communities. Nor can we fail to recognize that what gives the current controversy for local control, so much steam on the part of blacks and other disadvantaged groups, is this growing awareness that the school system is pivotal in determining the attitudes of blacks and other disadvantaged people toward their society and toward their position within that society. To over-simplify--the choice in the socialization process is whether they will be socialized through the school system to become clients of social welfare agencies or whether they will be socialized to become the constituents of the agencies which presumably serve them.

* *Could I interrupt just a moment? I understand that the concern of our meeting is for knowledge, insights, understandings, feelings that might be communicated to teachers who are dealing with disadvantaged youth. My point is that there are going to be many structural aspects of the situation which no individual teacher can do very much about but that it is terribly important that the individual teacher understands and can communicate about.*

** *O.K. Three questions: (i) can we identify the structural features of the system that do contribute in this particular way; (ii) can we teach the teacher to exert whatever influence she's got to change the structures that are unjustly influential; (iii) can we teach the teacher to look at her own system within the classroom as if,*

in fact, it has the same structural problems, and attempt to identify them and change them also?

* *I think there are two notions that I would put pretty high on the list. First is the issue of legitimacy of the school system in the lives of these people. You talk about democracy being the consent of the governed and so on, and the schools being in loco parentis--unless the school can legitimate its function in the lives of people, (and this goes all the way down to the classroom, to the legitimacy of the leadership of the teacher), unless this can happen, you are running a custodial institution, and this just doesn't produce growth. A second kind of thing that is relevant, it seems to me, is the power leverage of the community. Let's take it at the level of curriculum. The school is a handmaiden of the power arrangement at present and there is no curriculum for the person who is not of the dominant power arrangement of the society, except to denigrate him, to melt him down, mold him over in the image of the other. At the level of curriculum there is certainly a lot there that a teacher could do.*

* *Just as an extension of what you have been saying. There is an old saying that 'education goes on whether the school likes it or not'--the idea being that all the forces, the patterns of organization and behavior, etc. that exist within the community, collectively, together and interacting, educate the child. This education begins from the moment of birth and it continues through life, through adulthood. The school then is only one of those factors in the community and all of the factors that exist in the community play upon the school, and of course, the school plays upon a lot of them. Now if the school gets itself into any position where it is in competition with the streets and all that goes on in the streets, the school quite often loses the contest because (1) the school is not as attractive and alluring, and (2) because many factors ike it difficult for the ghetto youth to participate fully in the process of learning academic subject matter. So, it seems to me, that one of the things that the teacher needs to feel, is the fact that the school is merely one of these forces within the community. I think the school <u>can</u> avoid getting itself into a competitive position by recognizing these forces and thinking about ways and means by which its instruction can be conducted in a ma..er that*

utilizes, instead of competes with the streets, so to speak. This is something I think that teachers quite commonly don't think about at all and so they are constantly competing, competing, competing--and losing because these other forces are, in fact, more powerful than the school. These forces are the child's most powerful educator. It isn't just a question of imparting the knowledge of arithmetic or whatever to the child but doing this in a manner which assists in the organization of the community--in manners that make the school part of the community. You mentioned the custodial institution--the school in the urban ghetto really is a foreign institution imposed on the community. Whether it intends it to be that way or not, it turns out to be that way and so, as a consequence, the school becomes a target for the angers that exist. When it becomes impossible for the young man to do what the teacher keeps telling him he can do, because she isn't competing very well with the things that are more attractive to him, then be becomes humiliated.

* This has a great relation to what I was talking about--the legitimacy of the school's operation in the community. Often it's just not legitimate in the lives of the people it serves.

** Would you please address yourselves to a problem that is, I think, contingent on these points you are making; namely that if the teacher is to legitimize herself in the eyes of the pupils she must, to some extent, meet them on their ground. Therefore she has to be seen as like them, or not hostile to them, or not critical or denigratory of them. Now the problem the teacher carries is that she sees in herself the means for her pupils' ultimate social advance. So at the same time that she is identifying with them and associating with them and empathizing with them, she is also saying--I really want to change you and I want to change you in a direction that is foreign to you. I want, as it were, to show you the consequences of what happens when you get certain kinds of education in our society and what kinds of social approvals are available to you if, in fact, you get these forms of education. It seems to me that she is in a double bind because these are almost mutually incompatible.

* It seems to me that rather than that I'm going to change you, she should appreciate that there are ways and means by which she could assist the youth population to see the means by which they may change

themselves. The school then would become, and the teacher then would become, and the classroom then would become not a competitor but an ally.

** Schools have never placed knowledge at the disposal of the people --the little people. It's been for the elite of the community, relatively speaking. In one sense, the function of the school is that of a great sorting mechanism which teaches people their place in society. It's never been an instrument for the help of the little people to use knowledge really in the way in which it has the potentiality of becoming. The big pressure now is not that the teacher is trying to change people so much as that she is not changing them enough.*

** Of course. If you say it is a sorting mechanism, teaching people their place, as much as Plato said it should be. (Incidentally, I'm not fond of Plato, but I see a parallel here), after all, it is only a few who want to take advantage of this knowledge and say; "I'm an elite here too. I'm just a transient in this slum. I'm on my way to the top. I'm not too much concerned about the conditions in this neighborhood because I'm going to beat it out of here as soon as I get out of high school." The parallel, it seems to me, is with the American labor movement in the 30's. With the industrial union organisation I have always felt that what the CIO symbolized was the rank and file of American labor saying to each other; "let's face it kid, we're not going to be employers someday. We can't all be employers someday. We're going to be right here in this coal mine for the rest of our lives--most of us--and this is where it's got to happen'. And so the parallel, I think, is the same. It's not that we're all going to get out of the ghetto. This is where we are all going to become individually assimilated into the middle class. This is where it's going to happen so that if the school is going to do that, it has got to do more than merely be accessible to those few climbers who climb out.*

** And the big impetus to that also is from the migration patterns in these large cities. Heretofore there has always been a new group coming in to push the marginal people out so we never reformed the structures of the cities, we just pushed people through them, out to the suburbs and so on. But, now there is no more big migration to come in. Consequently, they are learning technics and are beginning to demand that these institutions be reformed to make the city humane--which*

never happened before. It's a new input into the city--an arrangement that we have never had before I think.

You say they want to be changed, but let's face reality. Let's take just such a practical thing as language styles. The guy may be very literate in his own linguistic mode, so to speak, but in order for him to get a job at J.L. Hudson's and so on, he better damn well get rid of that style. As I see it, that's one of our paradoxes--that they see the schools as pivotal but I think that they see the schools pivotal for getting out, for doing better.

I'm right in the midst of a consulting job to some public schools in the middle of Detroit, and the model cities program now. We have three main thrusts. We want to increase the number of para-professionals --getting about 55 people from the neighborhood and train them to work as teachers' aides in about three schools. Second, we are trying to increase the sensitivity of the existing teachers in the school--to do just exactly what you are talking about right here. Third, we are trying to introduce, through the community, the entire curriculum of so-called Afro-American culture so that the people will get a sense of pride in their background--music, culture, art, literature, history-- the whole works. Now, this has been one of the most thoroughly prepared 'grass roots' efforts that I have ever seen. We had a local citizen's planning group with a very able Negro leader - Willy Smith. Now when Willie Smith met with us the first time he said; "we've had enough emphasis upon environmental situations. We want to create a school system where our kids can learn". That was very much like Remus Robinson (at that time the only Negro member of the Detroit Board of Education, when I worked with them at the community school about ten years ago). He said; "we want our youngsters to have the chance to flunk the best curriculum that there is". They had a riot at one junior high school over the fact that they discovered that the text-books there were watered down versions of what everybody else was getting. So, you get this recurring theme. I would agree with you. I would think that they are increasingly recognizing that the school is central to getting out and improving their conditions.

* Could I raise one question about the agenda? So far we've been taking some very broad cuts and swaths into this question. In jotting

down a couple of ideas on the plane on the way down, I found that the first thing I had to do was ask myself how general the discussion would be and how specific it would be to community development--that is to some process of community change. If you are asking this group as community change people, as it were, what teachers might benefit by knowing, that's a fairly focussed thing. If you are asking this group as people who have had experiences in communities and community dynamics, the business of understanding the whole structure of the community and hence the structure of the American society, it's a much larger kind of a question and I'm afraid we'll kind of ramble around in it.

** *I assume that the first will be the most fruitful focus. I also assume that if, in fact, out of the discussion comes ideas about what the teacher should know in principle, then the question of how you elaborate those principles into an adequate curriculum is one that gets looked at, at a later date after we have sifted the general ideas that should be incorporated into the life span of the teacher. Does that answer your question?*

* *Let me test that. For example, it occurred to me that a teacher should know that community development people are interested in what the existing resources are for community development. They are interested in the sum of the current resources, the subtle process of cooptation which may occur when these resources begin to get used. These are content matters with which the teacher ought to be familiar--the city's program, its strengths and weaknesses, some of the complex problem of process of interaction that goes on with neighborhood development, and with the implications of neighborhood cooperation etc. All this substantive material, as well as just merely illustrative material could well become familiar to teachers.*

* *There is an instance that relates to this and also back to the previous conversation. Over the course of the past two and a half years, on a coast to coast basis, a considerable number of federal and foundation dollars have been invested in street gangs in the urban ghetto--it runs into quite a few million dollars. These gangs usually are made up of drop-outs whose ages range from 12 up even into early 40's. One of the things for which these gangs have been funded quite heavily is to start various business enterprises. I don't have statistics nation-wide but*

on the studies I have made I would estimate that a vast majority of these have failed. An enormous sum of money has been wasted; that is, in terms of producing a successful business enterprise or an income-making vehicle. Maybe in some instances the investment has provided a certain educational experience which had value, I'm not sure. But one of the things that strikes me is the apparent total separation between this kind of thing and the schools. Now, one of the major reasons that so many of these have failed is a lack of simple book-keeping skills, a lack of a whole range of managerial skills but mostly skills that the school system is in the business of teaching. But the school system would be the <u>last</u> place that these people would think of turning to for guidance and technical assistance, to help them make something they are interested in succeed. The school is not an ally, it continues to be looked upon as an enemy.

** Could I comment briefly, because I think that out of the two discussions has come a way of focussing. You are in fact talking about the teacher in at least two roles; first of all the role of the teacher as an information disseminator to the youngsters or to anybody else--an information disseminator, as it were, about community development. So one of the implications I would take out of this is that you would at the moment recommend that the teacher be prepared, at any rate to be able to do this sort of thing. The other role that is implied is the role of community changer herself. So she may need to become socialized to the idea that she can exert an influence in the community to change it.

If she became, in a sense, a consultant to various indigenous efforts, that in itself could be the means by which she could attract many kids back to school.

* I think that we could get very romantic about this notion of the teacher as a change agent, and.....

* If she could just be a role model it would help.....

* I think it's calling for only the extremely exceptional teacher, or the extremely exceptional human being, who would have the kind of creativity, obstinacy, fearlessness, patience, loyalty, and everything else an individual teacher in a school system to operate in this way. Unless the school system around her and unless, at least, that

school around her is geared to this, you can't expect the average teacher to do this work, though exceptional ones will.....

* *I think you shouldn't overlook though the opportunity or the necessity for her to understand that you have to work also through professional roles--professional organizations. I'd say that in spite of the difficulty that the union got into in the Oceanhill Brownsville, that fundamentally the union stood between these children and chaos in this community. They were the only group that had the muscle to require the city to pay the kinds of salaries to hold teachers there, to keep any semblance of the school system going and demand that they develop a more effective school program and so on. This shouldn't be overlooked as a possible origin of change possibility.*

* *I think, coming right to the heart of this, such an action, or practical orientation inheres to a large degree in role definition and role perception. I think that most teachers yet, either because of their preference or because of their sense of powerlessness, once they step outside of the classroom, still think of themselves pretty much as developers of skill and disseminators of knowledge. They feel that the way in which to do that is through the primary face to face ralationship within the classroom. The questions; "what is my job; who am I as a teacher; what are my tasks as a teacher; what are the number of jobs; and of these which has the highest priority?" are questions that are given narrow answers. I think this is what Willie Smith confirmed when he said; "we want our kids to learn". Teachers think this. Now around our way the unions are setting up very, very severe, strict job specifications as to what a teacher does. Now, what I ask is, does this role definition and role perception include in it any of the skills or any of the responsibilities we have just been describing? I'm inclined to think teachers would say; "but you see, my job begins at 9:00 in the morning with these kids, teaching this thing I'm supposed to do". They would say; "this is not my job, my job is..... Community development and so on, that's the job of the community school director (to use flat terminology), it's the community agent (to use the great city's terminology). This is the job of the social worker, the visiting teacher, the assistant principal, the principal himself, but my job is to instruct, to transmit information,*

develop skills, and so on. I love this, this is important. If I'm a metropolitan I live out in Connecticut and it takes me an hour to get to town. If I'm in Detroit and live out at Farmington, so it takes me an hour and a half to fight the battle of the highway, and so on". I worked in Detroit for 10 months, working with the famous Romney committee, and I worked in these inner city schools. And at 3:30 in the afternoon you would be swept off your feet if you didn't get out of the way. The basic idea was; "to hell with this, staying over here to join this local committee and all the rest of it. I've got a very clear cut responsibility to see that these kids learn". Now, to me, if we're talking about teacher training, we're talking about the school as a total apparatus, this is a slightly different horse, you see.

** We're talking about teacher training.

* You're talking about teacher training. We're talking about the rank and file of the troops, the troops that carry the big role. Well, it seems to me you just simply must somehow face this question; "who am I as a teacher, what is my job?"

* "....and how can I please the drummer to which you're listening".

* Precisely.

** We make the naive assumption that we're going to produce both competent and professional people. The naive fact that there is a ritual or a norm of behavior among other teachers doesn't necessarily mean that our teachers are going to follow it. At the moment we've got delusions of grandeur. Our teacher training scheme is going to produce beautiful teachers. However, you are talking about existential facts of current teaching and pretty powerful ones at that. Our teachers, no matter how idealistic they are, are going to run into them when they get out. I would kike your judgement as to whether you think that those existential facts are so powerful that the teachers will be forced to conform to them, or whether in fact our teachers can take a different orientation that does in fact cut across some of the conventional, standing practices of teachers now?

* At this point I would become sociological. I would say your greatest hope is somehow (not in a total sense, because that's romantic and unrealistic. I thoroughly agree, and I think one of the things that

we have to fight constantly is this romanticism of aspirations) would be to transform the system as much as possible. This is one reason some of us are very high about the community school. The community school concept is just a little broader than just the little old school house concept. And if you did within this total society create a school that is a little bit more than just a mere disseminator--which is the tradition that has been--then within that you would necessarily have new roles. You'd build into it the relevance of this so-called inside the classroom dissemination. I would say your chances would then be much greater if along with this you took into account the fact that there are educational forces outside, some of which are competing and some of which can reinforce. If you're looking for a big idea that they can all understand, think of the community as an educational force. This is a fuzzy idea but you can pin it down. Then think of the school within that as a powerful force. Take the idea of a knowledge center, a skill center, an information center along with a teaching center for kids. If we can think of the society as a whole, or the community, or whatever you like, as educative, then we think of the school as having a little larger slice of this than ever before. Then I would say that this teacher who still is merely concerned about what happens, how she behaves with her subject matter--if she still says, my job is to transmit the knowledge and the skill relevant to this subject matter here, she must recognize which drummer she is listening to. And it's not the disadvantaged community drummer--it's the university drummer, the top mathematicians in the country. But if she can see this now in social context, as she goes in and out to her classroom, and as she constantly runs into corridor talk, lounge talk, talk with the community's people, the visiting teacher and so on, some of this begins to spin off on her. This is the way I think the change will come, but I think we are fooling ourselves, I think we are romantic if we try to rely on reform coming through the disciplines. I went with educational psychology for a number of years, along with community development, Section 15 of APA--grew up with it. Educational psychologists have had a hell of a time trying to get a sense of identity. We won't go into this, but they're finally getting it and if you read the literature, what is it? It is identity from a focus on intra-classroom transmission. It's what's happening

here and this is in response somewhat to reality, to this sense of the pivotal role of the school in knowledge acquisition. Now, how specific are we going to get here. If you want to make it more generic I would say, start with the concept of the educated community, the concept of the community school as being a community center for knowledge and for information, the whole works.

** *I'll be happy to take my lead from exactly what you think it should be. If, in fact, you have a particular point of view, that then provides the orientation for us. If you specify the role in certain terms, that's it as far as I'm concerned. If you others happen to agree with him, that's fine. If you have different points of view, that's fine too.*

* *In this regard, I would like to come back to what Baker Brownell said a long time ago, which I think makes sense to me. I believe that it's immoral in training teachers to take the youngster out of the community for four years, five years, to train him to be a community leader. This kind of free-loading without any responsibility tends to be a means for their alienation from main stream human kind. I would have the trainee involved in the community the whole time she is in training so there is never a severance of that relationship. I believe that it would make a significant contribution to getting away from this dichotomy between the use of knowledge on the one hand and a Brahmin group on the other. Isn't there evidence that by the time you train a psychologist he has less empathy than when you started with him? And I would say that the same could be true with teachers--that by the time you train them they have less empathy than when they started. I think the thing that does it is the taking of them out of the community for four or five years in a free-loading experience--especially since we draw teachers so much from the lower echelon because it's the major gateway to the professions for the lower echelons of society.*

* *I could cite an example. Here in New York--a study on the lower east side which, among other things, concerns an organization called the University of the Streets. The University of the Streets has no relationship to the public school system. It's not really a university--it's just called that. This thing is run and operated by street people. It was organized by street people, and they have today 800 kids who have*

been very much alienated from the public school system and who regard the school as an enemy. They are now going through what they call prep school. These kids are diligently studying all sorts of academic subject matter for the purpose of preparing to take a high school equivalency test or something, or even just for the purpose of learning. Now here is an indigenous school. It certainly is an educational institution, whether you could define it as a university or whatever else--it certainly is an indigenous educational institution in the ghetto. And it does, in fact, have 800 ghetto kids who have been totally alienated from the public schools. Why are these kids so eager? Why do they participate so effectively? You know, they pay $1650 a month rent on the building there. They have to get out and hustle this money all the time. They do that and they in fact are running this themselves. They have a few public school teachers who come in as volunteers at night and they hold classes in their apartments and this and that. But many of the teachers are just young people themselves who are interested. I don't know what the quality of the teaching is in terms of subject matter or what it is in the terms of the quality of teaching say, arithmetic. But why is there such a contrast between the way these kids feel toward that educational institution in the ghetto--and these are life time ghetto kids--and the way they feel toward the public school system. If you could find the answer to what it is that makes them feel so eager about this thing and so angry toward the public schools this would suggest some of the feelings and role models that the teacher trainee should be exposed to.

** Here again, I think is the issue of legitimacy. This institution is legitimate in and of itself. It grew up out of the environment and the other is something imposed on them--as you say, as a means of control.*

** Well then, another thing. This particular institution--and it is an institution in a sense--could provide a classroom, as it were, for the teacher trainees. It hasn't been utilized for that but it could be.*

** You say it could be used that way and maybe it could but I'm very skeptical for the reason that I gave earlier. Really we are dealing with two different world views here. The world view that I assume is represented by this University of the Streets (that they feel they own and that is meeting their needs) is quite different from the*

world view of the public school system. And it establishes different constraints upon the teacher and different norms for evaluation of what makes a good teacher and everything else. I'm not so sure that the two are compatible. Putting it another way, I'm not sure that the teacher trained there would learn anything of relevance to the system into which she will go.

* I would like to see my masters students spend a quarter in the University of the Streets. I think a great deal would rub off.

* I'm being the devil's advocate at this moment. I just wanted to use that point for underlining what seems to me to be so important--the utterly different way of looking at American society that trickles down through the school.

* Well, this is one of the things wanted in the discussion, isn't it? We don't have to simply accept what is traditional. If we're talking about training a new crop of teachers over a period of time, then we would also be involved in the training of a new crop of administrators, eventually we might even be training a new crop of school board members. We might be generating a whole new way of looking at how to run a school. If that's what we're looking at, in the long haul it seems to me that some of these models we have going on now will be rejected. What is more, there are extremely rich resources that are really unknown. They're outside any official agency structure and I think they're likely to be shown to be more effective.

* There's one thing that stands out in some of the more successful ghetto schools I have known.

* You know, we talk about these things. The places I know where good work has been done--two schools stand out because they didn't do it with projects nor with new-fangled notions of one sort or another, or with teachers that were different. They did it with principals who believed these kids could learn and who reconciled the neighborhoods, and the communities they served--to expect teacher to teach and expect kids to learn and they accomplished it. I think it comes back to what the two of you were talking about--the expectations that the minority community has for the school. They don't expect these teachers to be great community workers or things like that. Their roles are to help these kids learn to read and to give them education and so on.

** I don't think there is any doubt that when you get the administrative structure sympathetic to community needs, you get a bigger response.

* And it didn't make much difference about the teachers.

** This is the point that I think we are going to have to confront. Are you suggesting that we be quite pessimistic about this thing and say if, in fact, you don't have a sympathetic administrative sturcture, you're not going to get anywhere?

* I'm saying we are not going to get far with teachers unless we change whole climate of opinion about what is a public school in a slum community.

** So do I, when I'm looking at the big issues. But when I look at the 30 kids that are being taught by that one teacher right now and ask the question; "can we make it just a little better for them", that answer doesn't help.

* All right, I'd like to comment on that a little. Whether the teacher is teaching arithmetic or book-keeping or history, or whatever, it seems to me that one thing that will help that teacher in the existing system (that is without assuming any change in the structure) one thing that the teacher can well use is some focussed thinking on the question of the alternative definitions of poverty. She can become a little self-conscious about some of the assumptions in American culture and the notion that there are the deserving poor and the undeserving poor and that anyone who responds to what she's teaching is likely to be one of the former rather than the latter. He wants to make something of himself. Concepts about structural poverty, if you will, concepts about structural unemployment, concepts about systematic discrimination, are all relevant to the teacher's view of her teaching life space. There is big educational literature on unequal treatment and misinterpretation of intelligence test scores and the rest. The field of juvenile delinquency has a rich literature on the discriminatory treatment, according to social class. Another field very replete with all sorts of findings indicating similar discrimination, is the field of mental illness. These are the kinds of things that the teacher of high school mathematics, or something like that, doesn't have to be a specialist in. But if the teacher in the role of teaching arithmetic and mathematics is going to have satisfactory empathy, it is important for her to have

this kind of understanding. It is important that the teacher have some chance to reflect on the folk culture we have in middle class society and about the nature of poverty. This would be an understanding that would be a terri c help, even though she didn't rush out and transform the juvenile court or some of the rest of them. If she had some appreciation that these are the kinds of things that are going on in the real world out there.

* *Wouldn't that just make the teacher uncomfortable? How much good does it do to be a good person in an institution that's not doing its job?*

* *That's a pretty good point.*

** *I think this comes back to another role that other consortia have suggested that the teacher might take from time to time, although admittedly in a hierarchy of roles it would take lower priority. She should see herself as somebody who can influence change within the system. Then if, in fact, she discerns characteristics in the system that are dysfunctional in terms of her achieving her educational objectives, then she has the obligation to exert her small influence in getting change in the system, whether it's the school system or the educational system--or the union system.*

* *It's a practical question and I'm not sure that the research bears out much notion that the teachers <u>can</u> transform the nature of public education. If you get schools in which the curriculum is pretty well designed from somewhere else, if the administration comes out of somewhere else, if the school traditions are alien to the traditions in the neighborhood around the school, if the school is seen as the enemy then I'm not sure that training a different sort of teacher is going to make much difference. I talked to some teachers a while ago in Los Angeles, and they were wondering why the kids were always slashing their tyres or doing bad things to them. The teachers themselves are just outsiders.*

* *The teachers are alien.*

* *Well, the whole school is alien.*

** *Question--do you have to be fatalistic about it and therefore say that you might as well stay ignorant?*

* *Well, I'm not suggesting fatalism. I'm suggesting that there are*

several points at which to think about social change and possibly the education teacher is not the most fruitful point to think about.

** *All right. I quite agree but is it so fruitless that we don't pay any attention to it?*

* *I'll answer that question. I don't believe it. I think it is a perfectly pertinent question. I agree that the teachers are not the point of leverage which would occur to me as the one at which to institute social change. However, they are very important actors in the process. The question of how they're trained I think, is exceedingly important, even granting these constraints. So, I'd say sure, if we're talking about teacher training, I think that recognizing this important point that teachers can't do much in a system which is locked-in in a hundred different ways to keep them in line that, nevertheless, if we can train teachers who are more amenable to a change, then at least, they won't be holding up change.*

* *O.K.*

* *And the realism of it is today that the upthrust of these powerless marginal people is such that 'by george' the ghetto schools <u>are</u> going to be legitimated in their lives. Local control doesn't mean throwing out the people who are there. If you look at Detroit, New York--any of the large cities--and at the Oceanhill business and 201 both, when local control came, they kept the major portion of the teachers who were there.*

** *And they didn't have any choice.*

* *They didn't have any choice but.....*

** *A teacher is a teacher is a teacher is a teacher.....*

* *But, by the same token, a large portion of them, once the structure was altered in the new pattern, fitted in to help. Now, if teachers could understand that this is goodness, and see it as goodness and identify with it so they didn't freeze on it in fear, as the union did, I think you'd make a major contribution to teacher training.*

** *O.K.*

* *I really think you could.*

* *If this isn't recognized as a matter of pessimism and if you don't proceed with this kind of enterprise, and with many more like it, you will unwittingly contribute to the total destruction of the public school*

system because we keep creating substitute institutions like, for example, the Head Start program. The woods are so full of them. Now, instead of thinking of ways and means of making the school relate more effectively to the neighborhood, you just keep undercutting the school and taking away from it and building other substitute institutions. Finally we'll just give up on the public school system. Just give up on it and we'll have a whole new set of shadow school systems out here and they will replace the others.

** Very rapidly we are getting pressure for support for parochial schools here in this section of the country--public support.*

** Incidentally, I must say that there is one aspect of this that I welcome and that is the opening up of options to individual families in the ghettos. I'd rather see them have both Hertz and Avis than have to send their youngster only to Hertz because that's all there is--just one school and one system.*

** If it were genuinely competitive but if it's an escape hatch for the upper groups and minority groups that are just ahead, then.....*

** I agree. If our topic were a little different I would be interested in discussing and exploring ways of making them truly competitive, but at any rate, we will have to 'bite this bullet' sooner or later of neighborhood control. It's the kind of thing that everyone would predict and it seems banal. But I don't see this as a cure-all either. I do think however, that whether it's Harlem or Roxbury or somewhere else, that people who live there and who send their kids to those schools, have to feel that they have a meaningful control over that school system--no more and no less than do the people of Scarsdale and Woodchester and Grove's Point and the rest--no more and no less.*

*** If so, what does this mean to the teacher?*

** Let me just put a footnote to that. However, the reason we're not willing to buy that as a society is that we really don't believe these people are capable of governing themselves and we don't believe they are capable of running their own schools, and we don't want to believe it. We feel, like Colonials, that we must in our own enlightening, altruistic way provide the best kind of school, with all the new teaching machines and everything else for these people (and have conferences such*

as this one to help). But we must do it for them because we know so much better. Whereas the idea of appreciating that they will make mistakes, that it's going to be horrible, that they're going to probably make as many mistakes in their school system as have been made these many years in Scarsdale and Woodchester and Grove's Point and it's going to be awful. We've got to let these people make some mistakes too, but also we've got to make some expertise available--but so that they can take it or leave it as they see fit. We can't just con them into the same old stultifying thing as we usually do. I just think we have to face this. Now, I know that in effect that's another agenda, but certainly if we're talking about what the teacher of arithmetic might well benefit by knowing, feeling and thinking about community development, then I think that this is one of the things that teachers who go into that should have some sensitivity to--particularly the young one who hasn't lost her empathy yet. She should have some sense of the process through which she moves a great deal of this empathy and through which she will be socialized into the teaching profession, into middle class norms and into union, professional identification of a guild type.

** It seems to me the big issue is whether we can move fast enough to alter the whole structure, keeping ourselves in a common encounter with common sets of values into which all kids will be socialized or whether or not, because we cannot move that fast, we pull apart into an apartheid relationship that develops separate curriculum for separate groups in a kind of a tribalism.*

*** Is it worthwhile considering the implications of both alternatives for the teacher? By and large I think the discussion has assumed that the first condition will exist. But if the second one will come about, there will develop new kinds of schools. And, you know, the wheel gets re-discovered, simply because there has been a demand for complete community control in this kind of social development of the community.*

** I think you could make the case that the minority people's schools have always been charity schools at public expense in the large cities. They have never been looked on as places that are attractive to teach in, and this kind of thing. They were fundamentally charity*

schools and the group there now is developing power enough to indicate that it's not going to live with this any longer. Yet the whole image of teaching is that you serve your time in the ghetto and then move out to the nice school. If you're getting ahead professionally, if you're upwardly mobile you're going to move to the nice neighborhood.

* Is that in itself the attitude.....

* Well, it's the whole system of American values. The whole expectancy is such that you might as well ask the layman on the street to rate the schools as to look at their common achievements or reading achievement scores, because the expectancy so nearly parallels the achievement that it doesn't make any difference.

* All I was getting at is that the way you put this upward mobility professionally in the guild..... Now, Ray used the words think, feel and understand, so what you just said could be incorporated into teacher training programs. Maybe the greatest professional achievement will come to be seen in terms other than moving out to Scarsdale.

** I suppose whatever the program, we're assuming motivation on the part of the teachers to, in fact, go into the inner city areas. We have a specially selected group. But even so, I suppose our problem is to retain in them the enthusiasms that they first generated before having known anything about ghetto teaching.

* Hunter College selected 100 girls, trained them with the notion of performing in these inner city schools--did all they could to orient them to it and 50% of them resigned their appointments when they found out they were going there.

* They didn't even get started?

* They didn't even start.

* And they knew all the way through the training program what they were taining for?

* Exactly.

* Was it a specially designed training program that had them in there during the program? For instance.....

* They did all the things they knew to do to acclimatize them to the low income neighborhoods, all the kinds of contacts, all the things we're talking about, and so on.

* Just scared the hell out of them, huh?

* I guess they did.

* A lot of this was out on-the-job experience too--right out there?

* Yes, practice teaching was there--all of it.

** Does anyone know why?

* No, except that they just didn't succeed with their project.

* Well, I wonder if that has something to do with the matter of selection.

* I think the selection is half the battle myself. I think we're very naive about the changes we think we can make in people. When they come there they are a product of long years of experience, expectations. The self-structure, the self-system is pretty fixed.

* Well, I just have the impression (without any data at all) from the young people that I do get to talk with--I've heard a lot more of; "oh, for heaven's sakes, I don't want to go in and suffer", than I heard 20 years ago.

* Oh yes.

* But they do a summer project and change their minds.

* Yes.

* It's not the same thing as a life-long devotion to.....

* But at least there is the initial desire, the initial willingness and then it's just simply the contact. After all, here are we, how many of us have given any anaesthetic?

* That's true.

* I live in Greenwich Village.

* I guess that's really the inner city, isn't it?

* That's inner inner.

* In spite of my talk a minute ago about the role perception, the role definition being strictly related to the intra-mural classrom, I can't argue with your point about the school that seemed to do well in spite of all the methodology because of acceptance, and so on. Everything I know seems to support that. We have some evidence on inner city schools in Detroit that if you got the mothers in and made them feel good and they cooperated, you got good results. We are back to the use of community resources to help the classroom performance. If they think of themselves as being basically responsible for what goes

on here it works. I think that the job to a large extent is to help them realize that in a very real sense, not in any theoretical sense, they can help our kids learn. Their relating to knowledge of resources and relating to extra school forces will help them in this. I've got two points here. I think you'll find teachers who have mastered the stuff well enough and if they live in the city or close by, they identify themselves with the community in various ways--through agencies, through clubs, the Booker T. Washington's Business Men's Association, and all the rest of it, even though it's the upper lower class people. I think you can demonstrate this. I'm talking about a teacher, not an administrator, but basically a full-time classroom teacher. We see them going up and they gradually take off in roles and activities that relate themselves to a larger context. Maybe there's an aura of community service respect for these guys but we have a lot of evidence to show that the people that have those contacts know more about their youngsters because of seeing those youngsters in situations outside. Now, let's get down to the other point. We now have the beginning of some very good data to the effect that if in the early stages the parent can be brought in as co-teacher, literally a co-teacher, that the youngster's skill and his I.Q. moves up fast. Let me give you a dramatic case. I'm using it as a point of departure. I'm taking you literally. You're interested in teacher training--what happens here in 'my' classroom. In Ypsilanti they worked out a scheme whereby a person from the outside came in and taught the mothers how to cooperate with the school and help their children. The mother becomes a teacher of the child along with the teachers. They would come in and not use fancy, beautiful materials, but they would use clothes pins, knives and forks, the little stuff that they could pick up right around the room. Sometimes the mother was illiterate and they would teach her how to read and how to write. Then the mother, as the child would come home, would reinforce and carry out and continue with some of these things. We have a little of this in a program in Flint where you work out a contract with the parents. The kid has a kind of a schedule and they make an agreement that he has a place to study, then make available at low cost, a standard dictionary, and all that sort of thing. I don't think we have anywhere near

exploited the most obvious agency related to the school--the educational potential of .the home. And, if I can trust my graduate student friend who conducts the seminar, the kids who had this kind of reinforcement from the home--from the parents--they zoomed up on both I.Q. tests and on standardized tests as compared to those where the relationship between the teacher and pupil was purely unilateral without any recognition at all of the supplementary reinforcing thing. Now, I think--we are now back to the teacher--I think we have a lot of evidence that this kind of acceptance, this kind of cooperation, works. Now we need to get somebody to do a very sharp, precise job analysis of exactly what you do--almost like a cookbook. I'll bet you could find procedures for investigating teaching functions in the home, spell them out, so that it would help aid a teacher analyze what's going on in the home and also help the home in its co-instructor role. I'm one of these persons who thinks that every home should be visited by the teacher, especially in the city. Now some will say; "oh my God, you can't do that". It shocks, you see. But there are techniques of doing that. They do it in Detroit. In spite of my sticking by this, I think there is a realm here where you build upon the love of the parent. We all know (my little work in Detroit showed it) that the one thing in common in poor families is that all of them love their kids. This is classless, almost classless. And the more desperate they are, the fact that you go along and show an interest in their kids prompts a response. This is a tremendous gain. I used to go around with the attendance officer. We would go around again and again and again and we'd walk the alleys and go through pretty horrible places, knock on the door. Put yourself in their place. What does that knock mean to them? It could mean the bill collector, the guy that's after them for the past rent, the third husband, the probation officer, and all the rest of them. The old curtain closes down like this and then this old guy, the attendance officer says; "how's Mary?" The door opens, and we go in.

* Well now, the teacher can do that even with the present system. Is that what you're saying?

* That's just what I'm saying!

** They do need encouragement..... Teachers do need to feel confident that they can do it and they do need to have the expertise to be able to

do it. So this implies their training in: (a) confidence, and (b) skills and ability. Incidentally, we had confirmation of your point from a group of teachers we had in a consortium--experienced teachers, who elaborated on this idea somewhat too.

** I'm very enthusiastic about what has been said here. Could I make just one other point to go along with it. Home visits are, it seems to me, extremely important. Along with that, I think the teacher has, in his or here classroom, in the students themselves, frequently a number of resources that relate to this and which are not being used, but which could be used. And if I could cite the case of a Puerto Rican who (you will have heard many like this) reached the ninth grade without being able to read or write, and finally passed on through the ninth grade here on the lower east side. Each year the teacher kept telling him the same thing, you know: "you can make it". And "you can make it" means that you-can-adopt-all-these-values-from-Scarsdale-and-do-like-we-expect-you-to-do-and-you're-perfectly-bright-and-you-can-do-that. And, I assume that the teachers thought that by so doing they were encouraging Chino. The fact of the matter is that they caused him to become increasingly frustrated because he never could do what they told him he could do, and he really was trying--this particular boy. So, finally he gives up and quits the whole thing. Meanwhile, competing against this he's the leader of a gang and they operate a mugging racket--a ring--and they're pushing dope. He became quite famous and notorious in his neighborhood and was subject to hallucinations of grandeur. As most gang boys seem to be, he was highly imaginative. But the fact of the matter is, he did have a certain kind of leadership ability--he had a large following, and all this time for nine years this kid represented a resource the teacher could have used as a leader for the purpose of doing things that would be relevant to their life space. This would relate to your ideas about home visitation, and putting together groups of kids in various projects and arrangements. It seems to me it would have been possible to tap this boy's leadership and thereby draw the teacher closer to the neighborhood and the neighborhood closer to the teacher and give the teacher a certain relationship that did not exist. My point is that there are hundreds and hundreds of these Chino's. He is no isolated case, and he had a family which is exactly like the*

family described earlier. So that by visiting the family and also by visiting this boy, and utilizing leadership talents which the boy had, it seems to me that the teacher could have found ways and means of exciting her kids. I'm not very romantic about the teacher being a vast community change agent either, but there are change agents in the community to which the teacher can relate and from which the teacher can draw strength and assistance if the teacher knows about these things.

*** Would you also agree that one of the elements in this situation that you cited might well have been that the teacher was giving underrate encouragement, diffuse encouragement which says you only have to <u>try</u> to succeed, when in fact you have to try <u>at something</u> and that something has to be defined well enough for you to know what the hell you are trying to do. Remember the days when we used to make kids stand up straight. You'd see a group of little youngsters, in grade one and two, and the teacher would say "try harder". And what would they do? They'd stick out their chests like pointer pigeons, they'd distort their posture in a most ridiculous way that was physiologically dysfunctional (promoting kypho-lordosis) and yet they were trying harder. It seems to me that the analogy applies in lots of education. We exhort kids to effort without telling them how they can specifically direct the energy that they have generated.*

** One problem that is tremendously plaguing back to what I think was said in the beginning--the differences in kinds of expectations. Much of what we said, depends on beginning a process where people are within the realm of their experience and then expanding the involvement so that it becomes increasingly significant for them to learn what we teach. Anything we do other than that is literally non-sense. But, in the minority community, if you don't present them with a body of standardized knowledge and expect them to learn it, irrespective of where they are, it is misunderstood as being 'Jim Crow' education. It takes a lot of confidence in the community to be able to say 'begin where they are' and with the confidence of bringing them to where the others are ultimately. It takes a lot of confidence to do that. Second is, that the difficulty of working creatively when the community itself is in tension with the school. We have a situation in the Bronx where some of the black mothers descended on the teachers and said; "you teach*

white folks' kids to read, how come you can't teach ours?" That's a durned good question. But, the teachers in responding to it, scuttled all they knew about reading readiness and this kind of thing, and fell back on what they thought they could defend, which was rote learning. How to function creatively, and so on, when the school and community is in tension seems to me to be a tremendously difficult kind of problem. I would submit to you that it's next to impossible to have a permissive, free-wheeling, creative learning situation in the school where the school is in tension with the community. From the principal down you play your cards close to your chest, you administer by directive, you transmit your insecurities to staff and everybody falls back on what they think they can defend.

** O.K.... which suggests one of two things--that either you have to accommodate to the outside force and do it the way they require or else you reeducate them. This implies that you've got to know what you're doing and you've got to be able to demonstrate appropriate expertise.

* Absolutely. And some way you've got to make reconciliation with that community. I looked at the lower east side a few years ago with a doctoral candidate who was working down there, and it struck me that a new group coming into the community comes in at the bottom rung of the power arrangement, and the group that is leaving is the group that is in the power arrangement. The services of the community have disciplined the people who are leaving to their rituals, mythologies and methodology. The groups coming in don't fit this. For instance, in health (which is easier to understand) the difficulty of serving Puerto Ricans healthwise is to get them to keep appointments. It is more important to the agencies there that they keep appointments than that they be served. So the first job of the group coming in is to force the agencies to alter their rituals to serve <u>them</u> also. This is a social action kind of job and involves some confrontation, some conflict. Once you get <u>into</u> the power arrangement, then you work through integrating processes of involvement. So I think you can make a case that the extent of the integration of the new group can be measured by the distance you've gone 'from the picket line to the endless couch'. In the beginning you re-structure the relations. In the end you

re-structure the individual. You put him on the couch and re-structure him. The other thing on it that stands out so, is that the methodologies and the insights that are used on these who are sub-culturally deviant are the insights and methodologies that were perfected on the majority. The consequence is that you send congeries of remediation people--psychologists, psychiatric social workers, psyche tinkerers of all sorts, out there to work with them through mental health processes.

*** Did you say psyche tinkers?*

* *Tinkerers..... out there to work with them--to get them to conform to the very thing that is producing their deviancy to begin with. The problem is how to understand this and how to get the teacher and the school people to understand this too.*

* *They--the disadvantaged--have experts who live there who have never been to school.*

* *Exactly, exactly.*

* *The mobilization for youth had drop-outs who could teach kids to read where the teachers couldn't.*

* *Speaking of content now--content of the kinds of things that one would hope that teachers would be exposed to somewhere in their training--there is something that applies particularly to social studies teachers, but generally perhaps to all teachers, particularly for those working in urban areas, and that is that thing that should help teachers and youngsters relate to what's going on out there in the neighborhood surrounding the school. It is very important for the teacher to understand, to be able to communicate, something about citizen action groups--something about community development processes, neighborhood work, neighborhood action, its potentialities and its limitation both, and particularly the kinds of things that have been going on around their school. They should know what kinds of civic or citizen action has taken place in the last year, 5 years, 10 years, and 20 years. They should know: where have they reached their high water mark; what have they run up against; what has helped them accomplish whatever they have accomplished; and, how could they have been more effective. They should know what are the very real constraints that go with this kind of a change strategy. These are kinds of knowledges and understanding that are, I think, very important.*

** . . . I think that there's a message here for social studies. Now, if I understand social studies curricula, there is a built-in assumption that you do work from your local community--that you do get the kids to know what the community is like, so it's a statement of the existential conditions of what it's like.

* Let me add one other thing to that that keeps bothering me. That is that we give lip service to this but we're not really willing to latch onto the dynamics of the local community as a source of educational motivation. I did a study of disturbance in a school where the black kids went out on the lawn in an affirmation of their identity as blacks--black is beautiful, and so on. There were a couple of hundred of them in an affirmation of their identity. It was the C.A.P. program in the community that caused them the summer before to begin to think long thoughts, to leave off their horsing around, and begin to be concerned. Some of these non-readers were carrying around "The Known Wretched of the Earth", and some of them were even carrying around the Koerner Report. But the school wouldn't latch on. It didn't latch on to this upthrust of the human spirit in the community for educational motivation. It seems to me that sensitivity to that kind of thing would be very useful.

* For example, a young lady in class last year was teaching down there, right near the rioting in Detroit and she had almost exactly the same experience. They wouldn't read the ordinary stuff but she picked up an old dog-eared paperback autobiography of Malcom X and they just ate it up. It was just fantastic.

* Exactly. Exactly. It comes back to what is the commitment of the school--who is the drummer?

* In a project with a junior high school that I know there developed a series of confrontations with the school, the principals, the superintendent of schools, the assistant superintendent of schools and so forth. Some changes were made but the school system itself was remarkably impervious to the denunciations of neighborhood groups--and they got some strong denunciations. There is a tremendous awareness and sensitivity, especially on the part of black parents, to the fact that they are being condescended to in the planning that was being done for them. For example, the school board thought it was doing a great thing when it desegregated the schools by bussing black kids off to white neighborhoods. From the

point of view of the parents in the neighborhood this didn't mean very much because in the first place they didn't have any money for bus fare, and they're supposed to pay bus fare.....

* Pay bus fare to go to school?

* ..... yes, in Syracuse, this is true. And then also no white kids were bussed into the ghetto. So they thought this a discriminatory sort of thing and most of the nine organizations opposed this whole school plan quite to the amazement of the good-hearted liberals on the Syracuse school board who thought they were doing something which was positive and fine etc. We didn't succeed in changing much in the school system of Syracuse. Probably the changes that were made were of a minor sort. For example, for the first time the superintendent would listen to the people. They would call him up or something like that and he would have to go where they were and sit down and talk with them about the problems that they saw. He was somewhat limited too in what he could get done because of the plain rigidity of the school system--even when he was sympathetic with the fact that some teacher really wasn't sympathetic, and the parents saw it as a rather racist orientation. He wasn't all that free to do anything about it and the parents didn't understand that. They thought, you know, the superintendent could shift things around and there would be no difficulty in that. They became more aware of the system as being responsible for the school, but they also began to regard the principal as a rather ineffectual person who used nice language, came to see them and couldn't seem to get very much done.

** Let me ask one question. How could individual teachers relate if they had had a better, a superior kind of training--how could they have better fitted into this kind of a program?

* Well, from the point of view of the parents, the ones that were highly regarded were those who went beyond that call of ordinary duty to teach their kids. There weren't very many. One teacher, for example, took an extra hour or two a day for tutoring just a few kids. That came as quite a surprise. The normal thing, especially for the white teacher, was to leave at the end of the school day and not be seen again until the next day.

* In and out.

* Don't you think that this has been the pattern for years and years, before the civil rights movement began, especially in the large city, even in the suburbia. It has been established that way for so long and only recently has such a wide-spread concern been expressed. There have been people concerned over the years but not on the present scale.

* Well, it depends on whether it's we or they a lot. It doesn't really matter in the suburbs if somebody comes in at 9:00 and goes out at 3:00 because she lives in the suburb too. He has much the same outlook on life as the kids--the same outlook on life which is regarded as respectable. She is one of us. In the ghettos she's somebody else. She's not one of us.

* They call them carpetbaggers where I came from.

* But I recall this complaint even back in the early 50's when I was devoting all my time to small communities throughout the state of Washington. Back in the 40's it was Montana. That was the complaint about the teachers even in the small town. She just went to school in the morning and home. She lived there but.....

** You're suggesting that teachers are slow learners about seeing the role as diffuse.

* Well, the community was complaining about the fact that she didn't care. That was the allegation--she was not concerned about community affairs and home problems and in the lack of motivation and lack of atmosphere conducive to study and so on, and all the various factors that made it difficult for a child to learn. The teacher was the whipping boy in Winlock, Washington and in little old White Salmon way up in the mountains. I just think this has been a long time universal thing. Only now in the urban ghettos, it is more pronounced and you have a more aggressive type of reaction to it than we used to have. It seems to me that it's been a problem for a long time.

* It's in relation to so many of the other problems. The color problem, the color issue, doesn't create the problem but it puts a tracer on the problem to bring it to light. This is a problem everywhere, but color puts a tracer on it and makes sure it's not hidden.

* There's a moral in this it seems to me from Missouri's point of view. If you're going to begin a new, experimental, superior kind of

teacher training you are dealing with a matter of the teacher's relationship to the community or the neighborhood which is very old, but you're talking about something revolutionary.

** *The point is, I think, that it has been given lip service only. I think you are reiterating the point, and I think the sociologists reiterated the point, that the idealism that is characteristic of education has got to be converted to behavior. It has got to be converted to action. It isn't just sufficient to have pure ideals. Somehow or other the ideal has got to be manifested through behavior. The question that arises is; in the relationship with the community what can be done? What are the ways that teachers can approach the community so that they can be functional in it and that can be used to help the teacher to function more effectively as a teacher? These are the questions that seem to repeat themselves.*

* *In your program, which I haven't heard about, is it possible to educate teachers who live in the vicinity of the school where they are teaching?*

** *Our program is to be evolved as a consequence of this consortium and other consortia that were held. This message has come through so repeatedly and has been justified in so many different ways that I think that we can't possibly avoid producing a program that gets the teachers to be involved in the community even if we wanted not to. This is so even if you look at it only from a role learning point of view. If, in fact, teachers don't learn what it's like being a teacher, and seeing teachers in the urban situation, they just won't be able to adopt a role that's appropriate. If they don't get to live in the area they won't have any real empathy and understanding for the situation. This doesn't mean a sort of an idealistic acceptance of the beauty of disadvantage, or for that matter, a rejection of disadvantage as inevitably evil. It means being objective about it and seeing the advantages and disadvantages. It means being able to live with the idea without getting too emotionally uptight about the social injustice.*

* *You know, if there are white teachers in a black area, they're going to be seen as enemies because they can't come in in the guise of a neighbor--and it means an entirely different thing. In Ypsilanti,*

which you described, we came in as neighbors first and were met with only affection and help as the only white family in a black neighborhood.

* Did you?

* Yes. The principal proudly claims that my son desegregated his school. He was the only white student there. Actually it was a very good school for him. But my wife wanted to do some substitute teaching and that wasn't so smooth. But that's a different role. As a substitute teacher, after her first day, somebody shot up the side of our car. The kids knew we lived in the public housing project in Ypsilanti, and this coming in, in the role of an authority was quite a different thing. Actually this was the only hostile act that ever was made toward us. My experiences have been that there really isn't much racial antagonism on the neighborhood level--in the different places that we've lived at least. But there is a problem in getting the parents, for example, to see that. These are people who are really concerned about us and our kids, and not that these are outsiders who are coming in to devalue us and do something that will take the kids away from the neighborhood eventually. The school system itself devalues the kids that come in. The very meaning of the school systems says that the people in this neighborhood are inferior, and to train teachers differently, someone has to overcome this handicap.

** In our teacher training program we plan to provide opportunity for the trainees to get into the community. This would certainly be done in close collaboration with community forces so that the training program would involve that community in a collaborative effort. We are very likely to go to the community districts and say: "Look, we're in the business of producing teachers. How can you help us do it in such a way that the teachers we produce will be useful to you? We think we have some ideas and here they are. Do you agree with them? Would you modify them? We think that first-hand experience is relevant. Can you help us give them first-hand experience?"

* What do you mean when you say the community?

** I don't know. I realize that question is a mile wide. But, presumably, for administrative convenience, we're going to focus on localities and say, here's a potential area in which urban education can be seen and therefore an area which is potentially useful as a training

ground for teachers.

" Would you ask PTA's, or Boards of Education?

" Oh no. I think that this is, you know, just a geographical statement. This is where urbanism is, and this is where disadvantage is. Then it becomes the matter of saying; how do you get access to this community? And I think that this was implicated in your question.

" Do you mean the parents of the children or do you mean the people who control the schools, because in the city they are two different groups of people?

"" No. I wonder if we can avoid reading into your question what I think is in it--namely, are we going to go through channels, as it were, and assume that by contacting the school district we have, in effect, solved our problem. The answer is no. Obviously we have to clear with the school district but it seems to me that if we really want to get into the community, then the Board of Education is low on the priority list. We want to get with people who are influential in the community. Who they'll be I don't know. But you might suggest ways in which we might look at the community to identify them. You see, it might be a consensual community so therefore it's a matter of gaining access to the groups that express the consensus. It may be a severely split community, where it's a matter of getting access to the power groups. One problem of the nuts and bolts of this is, I believe, that more teachers fail because they can't control the classroom as a learning situation than from any other one factor, far more than their limitations and their subject matter. The issue arises then as to how does the teacher show the perimeters of authority in her classroom to the end that she can create a viable learning situation. This I think, becomes a very crucial part of it. Undoubtedly one part of it relates more to her having some skills in what I would roughly call the 'group dynamics field'--how to use the class as a group and the dynamics of the group is one part of it, but it is only one part of it. The other part is how does she make clear the legitimation of her own authority. There is some evidence that says the teacher who has discipline problems is the one the kids know is not in solid with the principal. But the other is unwillingness to discipline children who are from minority backgrounds for fear that they'll not be understood.

Here again, you've got to come and make peace with the community in some fashion or another. In East St. Louis, for instance, some of them when they first were desegregated said; "we'll discipline the white kids but we're sure not going to touch those black kids because their parents won't understand it". Practically everywhere I go there is the charge that there is a double standard of discipline, which destroys the whole sense of the legitimacy of authority or the firmness of the perimeters of authority in the life space of the classroom.

* I'd like to follow up a little bit on what has been said because I've become acutely conscious of something in my recent studies which had to do with street gangs. And that is that there seems to be a very important, though a very fine and delicate line (which is difficult to determine) in this matter of exercising enough authority to maintain a viable teaching situation, as you put it, and enough so that you do have an equal kind of disciplinary problem. What I'm trying to say is that if you pass this line you can <u>over-correct</u>, because these kids are hustlers. And they have learned the art of hustling from day one. So when you lean over so far backwards in an effort to be understanding and accepting and all this, you can very easily find yourself losing their respect and come to be looked upon as a soft touch--as an easy mark--as one who is subject to be hustled. So you yield to this demand and to that demand and you yield so much and so often and so frequently that you have destroyed yourself, and then you have only their disgust. You really haven't done anything for them. You've only contributed to unnecessary militancy. How to avoid making yourself the subject of a hustle is a pretty difficult question to answer. It is especially hard for a white man with black people or with Puerto Rican people. It's too easy to overglorify black as beautiful. You know, it isn't any more beautiful than white or brown or..... It seems to me that we often permit our guilt to influence us to such an extent that we are really destroying our own usefulness.

** As a foreigner I see this repeatedly. In a situation where the person confronted feels guilty, feels that he's contributed to the very justified reason that lies behind the confrontation. Because he's entrite he concedes too much. He gives in too much and the net result is dysfunctional. You know, I've seen the black-white confrontation and

not felt responsible for it in the sense that I'm historically responsible for it (I've only been in the country for 3 1/2 years). To this extent I can be somewhat objective and I see my white friends overcompensating in a way that is, I think, quite dysfunctional both for them and the others.

* *This is the place where this para-professional, if she's a local woman out of the community, can really be useful. This is because the teacher's authority stems from two sources, first her expertise in her subject matter, but second, her in loco parentis role. Now if somebody in the classroom is of the parent group and can legitimate that prong of her authority she can work much better. For instance, in Virginia I was told about a sixth grade, all white, but where the fathers have divorced their wives or put them away in apartment houses. It's a broken home kind of neighborhood where the teacher invariably falls by the wayside. They had three or four teachers who got chased out practically before they got started. Finally they got this little slip of a girl, but they also got a mother from among the community as a para-professional and it stabilized the whole situation. The girl could handle everything except for the discipline problem and the parent, in the role of a para-professional, represented the authority of the community that she didn't have. Knowing how to use people like this as resources from the community will be very helpful.*

* *And don't glorify them too much if you use people from the community as resources. I've seen cases where this has been done to such an extent that the resource is destroyed. If you glorify the street leader to the point where he becomes romanticized, he becomes a celebrity, and then as a celebrity you are beneath him and you can't deal with him on an equal level.*

** *What about the possible conflict for the teacher between what she imagines to be 'proper parental roles' and what is in fact the parental role that's common in the district. For example, there seems to be a certain amount of evidence that suggests that the mother in the Negro family takes on a kind of mother role that is different from the mother role in the white middle class family. There's a more matriarchal family set-up, often the absence of the father, and so on and so on. Also there is certain other evidence that suggests that authoritarianism*

features in lower socio-economic groups to a greater extent than it does in middle class ones. Both of these ideas of female dominance and the use of authoritarian techniques violate the norms that teachers are normally trained to believe in. And yet perhaps the expectations of the kids in the classroom have about the teacher are that she won't reflect these roles--that she will in fact be rough from time to time.

* Well, it gets down to a matter of honesty. You know, you have to be honest with these people. When it becomes evident that you're being taken advantage of, you have to say so. You have to draw this line pretty sharply and there are times when you have to exercise a pretty blunt and abrupt kind of approach. That's the approach they understand. That's the approach they've grown up with. So this gets back to what I was saying a moment ago about over-correcting. You can either fall flat on your face or fall over backwards. So the line has to be found. I don't know how to suggest to a teacher that she define that line but it's certainly something that ought to be given a great deal of attention in teacher training.

* From my own experience, one of the values of neighborhoods I've known about is courage, and another is.....

* This is part of honesty--this courage.

* Another is bluntness and directness of talking. A lot of people would rather have you say something that's very thoroughly understood. Ghetto kids just don't understand the circumlocutions that are normal in middle class areas. They don't know what they mean. They figure they're being taken advantage of or something. They don't respect the people who use them. They feel that these are emasculated men--if they are men--not real men. I would tend to support what you're saying in that case.

* My experience is that one of the other arguments for the home visit is that you tend to reinforce or strengthen your formal role. If you're in the home there are two or three things that happen there so that because you know the parent, and the youngster knows that you know the parent, he knows if there's any common information and that sort of thing. It's not quite "if you don't behave I'll tell your parents and they'll beat hell out of you", but it is something like that. There are several things going here but I think one thing is a web of relationships

and comminication. The youngster is aware of it. If the relationships are unilateral, teacher to pupil A, teacher to pupil B, almost on a straight unilateral basis, and they are perceived as such, then the youngster doesn't see the teacher as being related to his world. He thinks of the teacher as on the outside. In fact, we often find that the teacher aide, or the para-professional, frequently is even more strict. She comes in without any of this new psychology stuff and Spock stuff, and he believes you should tell the kids what to do and so on. They carry that old pattern and though it may produce some conflict, in this kind of a situation it is the most appropriate. A lot of our teacher visitation studies seem to show that it does help the teacher's position tremendously to have it known by the child that she does know the parent and that she does know the neighborhood. That doesn't mean to say that by virtue she's been in the home, this gives her the license to beat hell out of the kid, not by a long shot. But we have some studies that show that that problem has alleviated--cut in half almost.

* Does the child in that case see the teacher as being an authority --that is in terms of knowledge, not in terms of rank. After all, if he understands the same conditions that the child understands, the child then can't look upon the teacher as a dope who just doesn't understand his world. But it doesn't mean he's knowledgeable.

* Yeah, that's true. I think another thing that happens here is that as a result of this, the youngster tends to respect the teacher's role as teacher--because it gets reinforced at home. "The teacher is a good guy and this is what he's for, that we hope you'll work a lot". So her status probably rises a little in the eyes of the youngster, not only because she knows and therefore can say she's been around, but also because of her job as teacher, so to speak, has been legitimized.

* I think there are certain common features to these neighborhoods that we're talking about here that could properly bear looking into. One thing that we're all familiar with is the matriarchal type of family pattern, of the density factor, and then, of course, this tremendous mobility factor--which is enough to make you wonder what is the community?, what are the solid, tenacious, stable factors that are there to be dealt with? Is it just an aggregate--a miscellaneous

aggregate of people that are constantly moving and milling around? To what extent is a substructure of stability there and so on? A little of the knowledge of the community structure typical of these neighborhoods, the social structure, and possibly some kind of an introduction to the specific neighborhood where they're going to work would seem useful.

* One of the schools in New York had a 300% turnover.

* Really?

* Yes.

* You and I just think of at least a minimum of stability, don't you know. You go back to the old address and some of the same people are there. Now, in my work in Detroit the only stability I got would be the service people. It would be the guy at the service station, the little candy store, the funeral director, a few people that refused to move out, a few of the people who serve the neighborhood.

* We're doing some studies in Detroit, incidentally, and we do not get the impression of such mobility among the leaders. The leaders of various groups--take those who came in with the poverty program--a lot of them are still around Detroit fighting their way into the model cities program. So again we come up against this question of what is the community that you're relating to? I noticed that you did answer that and I must say I thought in terms of the parents, but then you get into this kind of a question.

* You know, they found a hundred odd per cent mobility in one Harlem school, that I referred to a while ago, but when they looked at it, about 80% of it was stable and the rest of it was just a revolving door.

* Then that can affect those figures. I was wondering when you said a hundred per cent turnover--what does that mean?

* Then there's a lot of variation from place to place. Most parts of the Los Angeles black area is fairly stable--not all parts but most parts. There's a question I want to ask, out of sheer ignorance; how many kids does a fifth grade school teacher teach in Detroit or some place like that?

* The size of class?

* Well, does he teach just one class or does he teach a succession

of classes?

* He would have just one class.

* Each fifth grade teacher would have one class.

* So there would be something like 30 parents or 35 parents or something? And as soon as you got up to seventh grade, or where there is an assistant it may be an entirely different picture, isn't that right? Then it could be 150.

* Yes, sure.

* Well, remember talking about the teacher trainee studying the general structure of the neighborhoods, and then the particular neighborhood in which he or she will teach? That's the part I would like to emphasize, because there is such a tremendous variation. You know, it isn't really that if you've seen one slum you've seen them all. They're different. Maybe you don't know what school your trainees are going to end up in or what neighborhood, but some kind of specific analysis of that neighborhood by that teacher before that teacher enters the job, would seem to me to be an extremely fruitful exercise.

** This may suggest a regorganization of the appointment procedures. This may, however, not be possible because teachers show a certain amount of initiative. You train them in Kansas City or St. Louis and then they go to Los Angeles.

* You can train them how to study the neighborhood.

** Yes, we hope so.

* Then let them do it themselves.

* I think that relates to this question of moving into the neighborhood. Teachers may live half way across the city or may move out of one place and into another and there is all sorts of logic to the idea of identification with a neighborhood on the basis of residence, but I wonder if we couldn't exploit it a little better. Well, it suggests two things to me. One is what has already been discussed--the greater use of para-professional people from the neighborhood who can be recruited and, in a relatively short time, trained--don't send them off for four years somewhere. This is so they can become useful in school while they still live in the neighborhood. Then if they move, conceivably they may be useful elsewhere. The other is perhaps some more stable or

long-range recruiting system from the neighborhood, not that people aren't going to move out, but I wonder if there isn't an avenue to explore here and whether again that isn't tied in with greater control by the neighborhood people over the schools. However, programs that will recruit from the neighborhood for teacher training are going to have terrific slumpage, and this has to be recognized.

* Take nurses' training--it's the same thing.

* If you do recruit a person from the neighborhood to enter the teaching profession in that neighborhood, might not that person then decide to become a stable part of the neighborhood?

* You know, this suggests something else to me too. That is that these para-professionals might ultimately become the element of stability while the teacher continues to be the mobile in and out part of it. We did a little study of hospitals a while back, on the relations of interns and nurses. The nurses were there as career people in that hospital, but these interns were there, in and out, in and out. The nurses were the stable element that kept the hospital going in a sense and the interns were here today and gone tomorrow. Maybe the stability of the slum school may ultimately turn out to reside in these para-professionals.

* Isn't that a good combination?

* I think it might not be bad, if the para-professional remembers her role.

* You know the fellow from the home office with the brief case who comes in in the morning and goes out at night, he has certain values and advantages to him, and the combination of these could make a useful contribution.

* In my report to the citizen's committee ten years ago I recommended that some people be encouraged to live there just as you were saying. Now, do any of you know if the settlement house is characterized by people coming down there and living and contributing to the program?

* Used to be.

* Used to be. Precisely. Used to be. I am asking you all now. What is the present status of a settlement house movement and do we have in that experience any data or any kind of evidence around here th

will indicate what would happen if people lived there? I can imagine a settlement house where the teachers come and live and then teach there. Now, do you get my point?

* Well, the suggestion is without a research basis, but settlement houses themselves were, I think, more often incorporated into the neighborhood 50 or 70 years ago than they are today. The situation is more like that described by Herbert Gans in his chapter on caretakers in the Urban Villagers, where the settlement house more typically has the minority in the neighborhood as its clientele. And it doesn't really communicate with most of the neighborhood around it.

* And the workers are typically commuters now which they weren't years ago.

* Yes, a large proportion of them are commuting workers.

* Oh, really?

* Oh, yes.

* The old settlement idea is dead.

* You know, the old image was that they come down there and they lived there.

* Now, let's look at that a minute in connection with a teacher being recruited to live in them. The settlement house really used to be a sort of benign missionary outpost and these people were dedicated benign missionaries who were willing to give their lives to what they thought was a worthwhile kind of service, but that model makes it an outpost of the dominant society, and I just think that the school has got to <u>belong</u> there and be an integral part of the community. That doesn't mean there can't be the advantages of experts, the home office, the board of education and some degree of control of this, that or the other, but it seems to me the school has to be indigenous.

* If you are going to totally change the system, I wouldn't be surprised that might take some time.

* When I said that the school is going to be indigenous, that was too strong a way of putting it. All I mean is that it's got to be controlled locally and thus reflect more the felt educational needs and aspirations of the community.

* You know, while waiting for a system change, there are so many ways and means by which present school systems can relate to things

which are indigenous so that it takes on a semi-indigenous character, at least.

* Yes, but we've been saying that for, I guess, 75 years. I do thing we can keep on saying; "of we had some ham we could have some ham and eggs, if we had the eggs"--and "all it would take is the will, and all it would take is the training and the programs and everything to get the schools under the present structure to use their full range of options in the direction that we all talk about". But somehow or other it just never happens, and I do think that the possibilities under the existing circumstances are only hypothetically there. They are structurally improbable.

** All right. We've got the point. I think that we've got to recognize the constraints for what they are. But let me ask another question that bears on your point, because I've been a little concerned by it. It seems to me that if you create in teachers the feeling that they need to go and live in the area of their school--an area which is, by definition, representative of the lowest socio-economic stratum in the society, you are also saying to them; "for the time that you are teaching there you should deny yourself the opportunities, social, educational or otherwise". Ironically these are the values being promoted in the minds of the children and somehow or other the teacher has to demonstrate willingness to suffer in order to get through.

* I don't know that suffering is the right term.

* You can always make use of the library. You can always to to concerts.

** Yes, but you can't have your half acre of ground. You can't have your horse in the country and it's probably not feasible to have your two cars. You know, all of these are.....

* No--you can have three cars--absolutely.

** Provided you're prepared to have them shot up!

* No, no, you've got the wrong idea. All sorts of mutual aid goes on all the time. I don't see any suffering whatever. And I don't think you'll have to worry about the loss of half a acre of ground.

** O.K. Well, would you develop this point, because it seems to me that whether I've stated the situation accurately or not, my (mis)conception

is a pretty common one--that in fact the suburban home in the suburban neighborhood represents an ideal that teachers aspire to and.....

** Well, I think you might be training some teachers that don't place that much value in a suburban home, in a suburban neighborhood.....*

** Well, doesn't that go back to the selection problem?*

** I'm a little worried about the missionary angle.*

** Well, what does this have to do with being a missionary?*

** I don't see teachers as being any more noble or any more self-sacrificing ..... and I think most Americans do not prefer to live in slum areas, and that most middle class people who do live in slum areas do so either out of necessity because temporarily they've got a renovated apartment and that's the best they could do, or out of a sense of dedication. I believe they believe that if they're in a thing like this they ought to be more closely identified with the lives of the people and for <u>that</u> reason, <u>not</u> for the reason that they like the life styles of that neighborhood and that they feel comfortable about their general surroundings.*

** Well, I don't know. It seems to me that there is an awful lot of stereotyping of low income areas. I haven't had too much experience living in suburbia. I guess I've never lived there so I don't know what it's like. I lived in a middle income area for three or four years. I'll have to say that I feel much more comfortable in a low income black ghetto than I do in an area in which most of my neighbors are college faculty members--the university faculty members. That middle income neighborhood seemed to me to be sort of cold, remote.*

** Now you are talking about yourself.*

** I am trying to talk about the broad mass of people from whom teachers are recruited.*

** Isn't that the point though that different people have different likes. This seems to me to answer the question in a very practical manner. So a very large part of the Missouri problem is selection and recruitment. Well, if you're going to select and recruit somebody who wants to have a half acre and a horse, obviously he isn't going to be happy on the lower east side or somewhere. But there are some fascinating things about life down in that part of town--really interesting. I don't think I want to live there forever but*

lots of people would--so recruit them, you know!

** O.K. I've got two questions. The first one is that if you take either point of view, are you necessarily functional or dysfunctional in teaching in the inner city? Is it conceivable that you can live in the suburbs and teach there quite happily to everybody's advantage? Is it also possible that you can live in the inner city area and teach there quite happily to everybody's advantage too? Is it inevitable that if you do one or the other you will be either good or bad?

* I believe that living in the inner city is infinitely superior and that the teacher who is living in the suburbs is handicapped and less desirable as a teacher.

* Let me put it in a different context and ask if it makes any difference. Increasingly education becomes bureaucratized. You've got to have, practically speaking, a bureaucracy--and it's probably as efficient as any other social mechanism except God. Increasingly, the teacher is trained to be an interchangeable part in this vast bureaucratic mechanism. She becomes the teacher of the common branches of the vast section of the sixth grade in the homogeneous neighborhood someplace or another. Somebody else teaches creativity. Somebody else recreation. Somebody else guides them. Somebody else does whatever else there is to be done. And somebody else produces the curriculum. So that it doesn't make much difference. So increasingly she sees a narrow segment of the child, and somebody else takes care of community relations, so unless you change that bureaucratic pattern, how much difference does it make whether she lives in the community, doesn't live in the community, whether she visits homes or doesn't visit homes, and on and on.

** That is the question. If you've got two people under the bureaucratic system, one of whom can do "X" things, including visiting homes, and one of whom can't, is the one who can do them any better than the one who can't? Now, I think we have agreed not to take the dispairing position and say; if she can't do these things it doesn't matter. We are saying that if she can do these things, it does matter. And the point that I wanted to raise was that if she lives somewhere does that matter and you've given me testimony that you think it does.

* Well, not as a missionary. If anyone lives in a low income area

as a missionary they will quickly be ostracized and resented, by as a neighbor and friend--that's different.

** *O.K. You got to like it. How did you get to like it? Presumably because you perceived it in some way.....*

* *I'll bet I know. There is a kind of warmth and acceptance of humanity there in the ghetto.*

* *Yes. There's a warmth and acceptance and mutual aid. I live in an area that my colleagues in school social welfare at UCLA regard as awful. They think that the crime rate is immensely high. And as a matter of fact it probably is higher than some other parts of the city. But I haven't noticed any. They figure that probably my car is going to be stolen every month or two. There's a whole mythology about this place and none of these things are true. A guy sits across the street and makes very sure that nothing happens to my car, house or anything else. The neighbors are very helpful and very protective of you. It's a warm, friendly place to be, providing you're not a missionary.*

** *How did you get to like it in the first place? (You'll forgive the personal orientation question but) is this your childhood history too?*

* *Yes. I lived not in a black but in a white low income neighborhood as a child. As a matter of fact, you know, a lot of people in the 1930's lived in very poor circumstances. We lived in Los Angeles in 1937 in a one room apartment in which we were four adults and two children. And we couldn't afford that very long. That part of ghetto living what was permanently trying, I don't welcome that much crowding. But in most cities you can rent a fairly decent place in almost any low income area. It's a little harder in North Philadelphia maybe, I don't know. I've walked through those streets and I'd probably have to walk a little longer to find a place I liked.*

* *I think you can find quite a few teachers, once they get rid of their preconceptions about what life is like in urban areas. These are real preconceptions that are developed in the literature and research libraries all over the country.*

** *O.K. Good. Now may I ask one other question? It seems to me that when you explained why you liked living in those areas, you did*

so in terms of what you might call 'people values'--which runs counter to some of the preconceptions about American values, like utilitarian, economic values and getting on in terms of acquisition of material goods and things. Now; (a) is this the case, (b) am I misperceiving it, and (c) do you want to say anything about either issue?

* *Well, I suppose there are probably some minority people in the United States who have people values and don't mind..... But, you know, we have our record player with two speakers, and records, and we have cars and so on.*

** *O.K. I wasn't meaning to personalize. What I was getting at was.....*

* *There are material goods but you live in a house that's been lived in before. But if you live in a house that's been lived in before you usually get the landlord to fix it up or get in an area where your neighbors help you to fix it up. The reason is the landlord wants somebody in there who is not going to tear it down. He gets too many tenants who tear the place down. So he begins to be quite cooperative when you need this fixed and that fixed. Over a period of time it becomes a fairly decent place to live in. I don't know if I'm responding to your question but that at least is my conception.*

* *Now here's a case of a person who really likes it because of these factors. We've had the theory here that all the teachers start there like people who live there. I know of many teachers who prefer to teach there, even they don't live there. I think we've got to correct this. I never will forget Detroit--running into one teacher--and this is just a restricted sample, but she was out in one of the better neighborhoods on the northwest side of Detroit and she longed to go back to her school down there because (a) the parents were more cooperative, (b) they were appreciative, and (c) they weren't coming in and telling her how to do her job. Anything she did for the kids was appreciated so much. It was this sense of appreciation and support and neighborliness and so on that--for the minimum of input there is the maximum return that was satisfying in contrast to the snooty neighborhood where they come in to make it rough because the children weren't achieving enough and so on and so on. She made a terrific case for it.*

* There's a distinction made by someone between the "we" and the "they". One of the advantages of living where you work when you work with low income people is that you can be part of the "we". You may be an eccentric part of the "we". And you better not be the part of the "we" that is pushing your own ideology. But on an ordinary basis, that gives you a great advantage over being part of the "they".

** O.K. It's been argued about rural situations that the stranger in the district, which theoretically is an integrated area anyway, a sort of an historical primary group, takes a long time to be accepted. Now, do you find the same thing in the urban situation or is the sheer mobility of the population a factor that makes the stranger more readily acceptable?

* Oh, I don't know. I know one guy who didn't get accepted at all and I couldn't figure out exactly why. He said his kids got beaten up at school and things like that. He had a bad experience. I'd never had that problem at all. In most neighborhoods they are far more heterogeneous than one might expect. In the same neighborhood you have got a mother who has sacrificed the last ten years of her life so her kids could get through school and go to college, you've got a family that is completely broken down and the kids are completely out of control. You have some very respectable one parent families. You have some people who are pretty well self-educated. So you're just another part of a heterogeneous area. In any case, black people in a low income neighborhood have never figured out why people always run away when they come into a neighborhood. It's always been a puzzle to them. They are sort of curious about somebody that moves <u>in</u> instead of running away. It seems a positive thing--the very act of moving in--and acceptance comes fairly quickly. Now I have had some experience with rural life and I think acceptance comes much more slowly in most rural areas, for a reason that I'm not completely clear about.

* One of the things you're suggesting is something that has been hinted at several times but we've never talked about it very far. That is, how do you unburden prospective teachers' minds with all this mythology about those people--a mythology that the scholars, by and large, have helped to create? You know--low I.Q., low social class, weak ego strength, lack of father image with which to relate, inability to forego

immediate pleasures for long-range goals, etc. etc.

* But don't you overcome that by having a part of the training program occur in the community? In other words, all you have to do is live there for three months or so and you'll discover the attractive aspects. If the teachers believed some scholars, they couldn't teach these kids.

** Yes, but the scholars are now reversing their positions, at least that's the message that's coming through the consortia. The sociologists say; here are some myths about the nature of society that ought to be established as myths. For instance, there is nothing to demonstrate that any ethnic group is shown to be either intellectually inferior or intellectually superior to any other, and so on. And the psychologists have denigrated the way in which intelligence tests have been misused and so on.

* You know, Klineberg was talking about the culture bound nature of intelligence tests and how they operated to discriminate against scores from low income people.

** O.K., but there's been a recent reversal too.

* Jensen provided it.

** Yes, but again the message came out of the sociology and psychology groups that Jensen has only half seen the implications of what he said, and he has interpreted the use of intelligence tests incorrectly.

* I guess all I meant to imply was, don't expect too much from what seems to be support on the part of the social scientific community for different way of thinking.

* One shouldn't expect too much of the academic community's reversing their traditional attitudes.....

* Scholars are mortgaged like everybody else to the power arrangement. They create the mythologies on which they already rest.

* Let me say one other thing too that bothers me about it and that's the tendency of all of us to lay the failures on the human potential rather than on the establishment. I was glad to see Janowitz in his book for the Russell Sage Foundation on the Chicago thing, saying that projects are now about at an end in education. As long as you kept these projects bouncing, you kept the notion that these people were 'super-hard-to-

educate' people and consequently you had to find some magic potion of some sort or another in order to educate them. In this way you keep the attention on the human potential rather than on the limitations of the establishment. I told the Koerner Commission that I thought that we ought not to have any more of these projects until it's just demonstrated that we've provided the disadvantaged with good education already and that they'll respond to it. Otherwise it keeps the attention on the kids and on the limitations of the potential rather than on the limitations of the establishment. I think this part of it is another dimension of the mythology. The major experimental projects that are developed are in line with the mythology--that the limitations are the kids and the problem is therefore other than the establishment's.

** *O.K. I would add one point. It seems to me that often the things that we discuss, despite the fact that they are theoretically directed at the underprivileged youngster, apply right across the board.*

* *Of course. And the different kinds of understanding and sensitivity that we're talking about should equally be shared by teachers wherever they may be. That's a sort of 'aside'.*

** *Could I ask a question that may expose my ignorance even further? It seems to me that in the field of community development that the tactics of influencing behavior have to be considered as a matter of fact and used by community development. They have a facility in dealing with a particular community in such a way that they can induce it to move from the position in which it is in at the moment to another position. I have been studying my statement very carefully because if I start talking about things like manipulation you will assume that I'm imputing all sorts of motives that I would not do.*

* *Wouldn't you say that, historically, community development was a gimic on the part of the power arrangement of the society to manipulate the society towards desired ends--and to a very large extent it still is. The whole mythology that the poor wouldn't participate, that you couldn't get participation out of 'grass roots' was knocked into a cocked hat with the CAP programs which did demonstrate that people do participate.*

* *So then we had to knock the program into a cocked hat because they*

were participating too much.

* They were participating too much--that's right. But, the community organizer, the community developer, is caught like everybody else is in the power business. Is he a broker for the power arrangement of the society to manipulate the community to desired ends, or is he interested in releasing the potential of the unwashed and helping them to come to kinds of confrontations with the power arrangement to new designs of community living?

* I would like to take a little bit of exception to that.

* I thought you would.

* Well, in the first place, let me say that I wouldn't consider a community developer worth his salt unless his primary aim was to help a given community in which he's working to determine its goals and find ways and means of working towards its goals--to improve itself in terms of what it considers improvement. And if the community developer goes into the community with a preconceived set of goals and action ends, I wouldn't hire him.

* But if he doesn't expect something different to come out of it then he has no purpose in being there.

* I suppose you could say that.....

** Any old different thing?

* No, but that's another question. Let's hold that for just a second.

* Suppose they move in the direction of middle class norms. Why, the field is wide open.

* Well, I don't accept that. Of course, it depends on what you call the middle class norms, but the other thing.....

* Well I think, for example, not picketing the mayor's office, and stuff like that.

* Well, I'm not sure that's necessarily effective in all cases. From what I've seen there is too much picketing of the mayor's office for the sake of picketing the mayor's office.

* I know, but they want to do what they want to do. You're not going to tell them how to.....

* All right. That goes to his other question that I said let's hold a second. The other thing that I was taking exception to is this contention that you have such an enormous upwelling of participation. Out of the

1,000 CAP's in the United States, the vast majority of them had a horrible time generating any large scale neighborhood participation.

* Those people are very sensible. They know that it isn't worth the time that it's taking them. That's what we're saying now in model cities. These people are getting sick and tired of going out and jumping through a lot of participational hoops in the names of citizen participation when they find that the pay off just isn't there.

* Could I give an example of the kind of thing that I think is stultifying? Right now in the model cities program the new administration has emphasized what was really always a part of the model cities administration's guide lines--but they have become much more rigid about it--that is the virtual prohibition of the development of new agencies unless an extremely telling case can be made to show that no possible existing agency is either performing that function or can even be induced with money to perform that function. Now, putting it another way--if a group of citizens who are encouraged to take some responsibility, develop some leadership here and come to the conclusion that they want to set up a new kind of clinical setting, or a new kind of this, that or the other thing, they are virtually prohibited from doing it. So through the model cities we're saying - you'll want a lot of citizen participation. I simply translate that as meaning "we've got to do something about those slovens, because the first thing you know, they'll be burning the suburbs instead of singing songs, so we've got to do something about them and in order to do it, we learned a while back now that we can't do something without the commitment of the local people so we've got to get that commitment, so we'll set up some participation. We'll tell them exactly how they can participate. We'll tell them that this structure they set up doesn't meet our guide lines and we'll tell them that if they want that objective we can't give them the money for it, and if they begin to get out of line, why, we'll cut the financial support for what's going on....."

** You're going to hate me for this because while this is obviously an issue of great salience to you; and of great interest to you, I must suggest that maybe lunch is the time to carry it on.

* O.K. This has nothing to do with teacher training?

** My reason for getting us into this areas was because what I

wanted to ask was; given whatever community developers are and whatever they do, is their role, their understanding of how they play their role, of any relevance to the teacher when she confronts her little social system in the classroom and she starts..... well, sort of developing a community there?

* *There are several specific things, and we could go around the room and name them, but one which seems to me to be of great importance to the teacher which is something that all community developers and social workers are supposed to practice, is how to identify who are the indigenous leaders in the neighborhood. Who really occupy positions of leadership and are locally respected, and that sort of thing.*

** *How do you do that before you do develop a city? In the classroom the teacher wants to identify indigenous leaders. Now, maybe her problem isn't complicated, but she has to be involved with the community so she wants to know how to identify indigenous leaders in the larger community. Are there techniques? Are there orientations, are there understandings that community developers have about playing the game of finding out who the leaders are?*

* *I'm going to be skeptical again. I'm going to say this and then maybe in the rejection of this, we'll get an answer to your question. I'm going to say that community development has nothing to offer to the internal dynamics of the classroom situation, which is not already well known in educational psychology, sociometry, group dynamics and the rest. Now, naturally if you ask does it have content to offer--you know, we were talking about some of that earlier, about some of the anlysis of different strategies for moving ahead in the community--then yes. But as far as the dynamics of the classroom, identifying leadership, being sensitive etc., look at what the sociometrists were talking about again 20 years ago and the group dynamics people. Again the question of defining goals and working toward them and all of this, I understand, has been part of pedagogy for a couple of decades at least. I don't know of anything else in community development that would add to this.*

** *Let me ask you a question about your other points. You've taken group dynamics and you've taken sociometry and you've used these things. Now the teacher has so far only been exposed to preachments from the various protagonists of the various areas. I think that very few*

teacher training programs have systematically looked at the ways in which sociometry could be used. They haven't looked systematically (despite your earlier comment) very much at the nature of the classroom interaction even though there's a growing amount of literature to which I've contributed myself. Research in this area is extremely primitivje. So my question to you is; if you have taken insights from sociology, psychology, sociometry and so on, have you found that they were useful and if so, what did you do with them in order to find them useful? In other words, how did you use them in your own training programs, if they were useful to you?

* *I think there's been a goodly amount of use of just fundamental concepts of how to run groups and group meetings, and things like that, that have been used. Our group dynamic folk are involved in T-groups the first semester. Then in the second semester they are out in housing projects and places like this, trying to demonstrate they can use these skills in citizen leadership. There's scarcely a meeting you go to where at least a few of the fundamental principles of small groups are not implied in some way or another.*

** *You don't have any difficulty in getting your community development students to appreciate these and understand them, and internalize them?*

* *Don't have any trouble getting them to do it, you say?*

** *Yes.*

* *If we had the staff to run them, we could run twice as many as we do--twice as much of it as we do. It's the most popular program we have.*

** *You think it's useful and they think it's useful?*

* *Yes.*

** *And this is orthodox T-group training?*

* *I think so. I don't know what orthodox.....*

* *I have found in many programs that people who were thought to be leaders and were publicized as being leaders were not really the leaders--contrary to a lot of published material, particularly journalistic material. Now, if you make the question; how does the teacher determine who in the community is in a position of leadership and can therefore be useful from the purpose of teaching, it seems to me*

that we have already mentioned some of these things. One was home visitation. Another was finding indigenous youth groups that are operating in the community, and who it is useful to follow. Frequently this is not the guy that it thought to be the one they're following. I would agree with you that I would think that community development confirms and helps us establish, or to screen out the stuff that's going on and I would also thoroughly agree that your point about using the gang resource was good. I think that the community development might help a person be more sensitive to and more skillful about mobilizing, locating, harnessing, the resources in the community and that may be apropos of the classroom. Again, if the teacher would herself be the secretary of a neighborhood council of some kind, or the head of the block club in the neighborhood, she might, by virtue of being in this block club or this neighborhood council, get a terrific spin-off in contacts with the parents of kids, and so on.

** *You're asking the teacher to take on a load considerably above and beyond the 9:00 to 3:00 classroom job.*

* *Yes. But there are certain kinds of things, aren't there, that are relevant to the classroom--that a response to powerlessness is apathy. The apathy of the community is usually a reflection of its sense of powerlessness or impotency.*

** *You're suggesting that she's got an apathetic class?*

* *That's right--or apathetic members in the class. The problem is how you deal with that--the leader of the community who really isn't the leader necessarily. How do you socialize power that is used in arbitrary and capricious ways? How does the community deal with this? Well, you find ways of organizing around him, or some way of checkmating him..... You have to use this in classroom situations. Our data tend to say that the teacher who gets along knows how to make her peace with the power structure of her class and she reinforces what is, rather than she diffuses the power.*

* *One other point on leadership. Because there are not available structures in many areas through which leadership can emerge, one has instead, specialized kinds of mostly informal leadership. Now one doesn't know whether these same people would be good <u>action</u> leaders for the development of action or organization. In this I agree that the way to*

train leaders is to develop organizations and through the creation of structures, leadership emerges. We found in Syracuse and in Los Angeles too, that there's plenty of leadership that emerges once one gets structures within which it can emerge. But there's a terrific difficulty in keeping this leadership as leaders of ghetto people because immediately they emerge as leaders they're hired onto a CAP agency, or university programs and so on.

* This is one of the reasons why I have difficulty trying to answer you question specifically. I'm not sure that what community development people know about developing leadership and finding leaders, etc. that would specifically relate to the classroom teacher. A community developer does, in fact, develop organizational structures, or help people to do that. It is within the framework of that structure that leadership emerges. Now, what I'm having trouble with is trying to translate from this guy who devotes histtime to this process of community organization in which leadership is discovered, developed and given an opportunity to emerge--to the teacher who has the job of running a fifth grade class. I don't see how she could do all of what that person is doing. Obviously that goes back to your thing about romanticizing the possibilities of the teacher inducing. But it does seem to me that the teacher could become aware of the existence of these organizational structures and mechanisms that are at work--and it wouldn't be too much of a trick to discover which ones are effective and which ones are not. I don't think it's necessary for the teacher to become a chairman of anything or maybe even to become a member of anything but she needs to become aware of what's going on.

* As a matter of fact, it may not be good if the teacher became the chairman of a group.

* Right.

* But the teacher can be taught how to locate these mechanisms, these entities which exist, and in the process of locating them and familiarizing herself or himself with them and becoming cognizant of what their programs are, she will find who the leaders are in the community.

** Question. When you're acting as a community developer do you almost invariably have a receptive clientele?

* One of the first things that is of course commonly practiced

is to find out what it is that the community is concerned about. So you start from the community's concern. In North Carolina, one of the problems there was that CAP's in North Carolina were not getting any citizen participation to speak of and they were merely just another agency in town that was responding to these Washington issued guide lines. So this experiment was to work in low income towns, cities and neighborhoods throughout the state to find ways and means of generating a kind of citizen participation. This experiment really was quite successful. The procedure was to go into the black neighborhoods and just talk to people and through the course of time discover what they were concerned about, and who was concerned and who thought what of who, and all this kind of thing. It was possible to generate a neighborhood-development kind of a group but interestingly, many of them would refuse to elect a delegate from their neighborhood association to the CAP on the grounds that the CAP was foreign. It took a lot of doing finally to bring these two things together.

** How do you make yourself acceptable? You say you go in and talk to these people and you ask questions and you find out, but how do you do it?

* We had consultants scattered around the state who became residents, usually.

** But how do they become accepted?

* One of the first things a consultant would do would be to get acquainted with all the established agencies that exist--the school for one and all the various welfare groups and public health groups and political groups and precinct organizations and what have you. In the course of this he would try to identify local citizen leaders and then get introduced to them, get acquainted with them, and begin to form very informal discussions--meeting around in people's homes and this kind of thing. Over a period of time, through just a dialogue that's created. He or she will discover the communication nets. Incidentally, one of the most successful workers we had was a white girl from Chapel Hill from a very well-to-do family. This white girl went into the black neighborhoods and was totally accepted, never in danger. They literally loved this girl.

** Why?

* Well, she had a way of relating to them that made them know that she was genuinely concerned about them.

** They loved her because she was lovable?

* I guess.

** But did you make her lovable or was she lovable before she came?

* Some of the things that happen are fantastic. Do you remember a few years ago there was a fellow named Williams from Union Country, North Carolina, who went to Cuba and formed a revolutionary thing and broadcast propaganda back to the U.S. He finally wound up in North Vietnam and China, and so on. Well, this was his territory and that was regarded as an area where you just couldn't do anything because there was such a vicious, militant, mean, cruel, crime-ridden element in it. That girl went in there, and by God, she had the whole county. There was not a Negro neighborhood, not one, that wasn't highly organized within a period of about a year's time.

** Now, was this charismatic only or..... What I'm obviously trying to get at is, if somebody were to analyse her behavior could they locate the perhaps intuitive technique that she used. Because the teacher has a bit of the same problem--she goes into a hostile environment, she's got her kids there and they don't like her--by definition she's part of the establishment.

* This gorl was lovable but she was also tough. She was skillful. She knew when to be aggressive and when to be non-aggressive. She knew when to be direct, when to be non-directive. She employed all these tactics and if she thought somebody was trying to con her, she told them so and they accepted it, they learned to respect her.

* I have got some several dozen graduate students, the majority of whom are white from the middle class, working in various low income communities and we've had several instances of very substantial success in organizing young women who are white, initially naive, usually intelligent, able to talk bluntly and directly when it was necessary to talk bluntly and directly but the middle class background didn't seem to stand in their way.

It was usually responsible people who seemed to do better--responsible in keeping their promises. They didn't make promises they couldn't keep. However, I once had one white girl who was good in

most other ways but that she didn't keep the line clear to distinguish between sexual relationship and professional relationship. She didn't do too well because everybody got mixed up in the neighborhood, so she was released. But there's a pretty wide range of people who can work effectively. I think our experience has been to avoid students who will be, often unconsciously, condescending toward the people in the area. Without intending to, they insult people and drive them away. I tend to avoid people who use of lot of noise and flattery too because most people are ambivalent about noisy people. Their part in the Watts revolution was because they wanted a TV set and not because they were involved in a revolution. I think there's a list of characteristics that we can use to distinguish people who are more likely to be successful and less likely to be successful. In doing my own recruiting a certain amount of previous work experience seems to be useful. Partly just because they have a sense of having to work regularly. School doesn't always give them that sense. They also need to have the ability to take the side of the people at various times to feel that they may disagree with this organization but that they're on the side of the neighborhood. The neighborhood remembers that, understands that, knows that. He's with us, not against us, not neutral.

** Would you make any judgement about the desirability for our recruitment, of a person's having grown up in a ghetto?

* I'm biased. Without having done any research on it and only out of my own teaching experiences, it seems to me that that sort of variable doesn't make much difference. Now, one of the most effective workers that I've ever seen is this fellow here in the University of the Streets, Fred Good, who comes from a very sophisticated, intellectual, Belgian background. He used to spend his summers travelling through Europe and never lived in a ghetto in his life. He knew utterly nothing about it and just arrived there through a set of circumstances. It turns out that he is a far more effective leader in that particular neighborhood than many of the so-called gang leaders, who are said to be the leaders who who really aren't. He's just doing a marvelous job. He is, in fact, in this situation a leader. He isn't just a consultant and he has been accepted as a leader.

ADDENDUM

Due to what is usually called (euphemistically) a technical difficulty, the terminal part of the discussion was not retrievable. In response to a request for 'afterthoughts', particularly in respect of the latter part of the consortium, the various contributors were kind enough to produce the comments that appear below.

The following notes outline most of the points I should like to make in summary. They are under two headings, general, and specific:

General

The importance of alternative conceptions of poverty (as attributable to the deficiency of the poor, or to 'structured unemployment', or to 'white racism', or to other systemic attributes).

The difference it makes whether social agencies consider the poor only as clients, as people who need help, or as constituents as well, people to whom the agencies are responsible and from whom they wish some degree of direction.

The importance of teaching disadvantaged children about different access routes to vertical mobility--whether through manpower training programs, through various career ladders, through putting them in touch with specific agencies, or whatsoever.

The importance of heavy doses of old fashioned 'politics', in the sense that inhabitants of disadvantaged areas need to know how the political machinery is operated and can be made to work on their behalf.

They should know something about aspiration levels, and the deliberate or inadvertent impact of many teachers in keeping aspiration levels down.

(The above deal with general knowledge which the teacher should have especially, and which should likewise constitute part of the curriculum for the schools in disadvantaged areas.)

Specific to Community Development

The possibilities and limits of 'community action' as a method of bringing about social change.

The possibilities and limits of a 'consensus-coalitional' approach to bringing about social change, as opposed to an adversary approach--

particularly as this relates to the ability of people in disadvantaged neighborhoods to make themselves heard and to influence social policy.

An awareness of the dependence of <u>all</u> neighborhoods on exchange relationships with the rest of society and on resources coming from outside the immediate neighborhood (no neighborhood can be completely self-sufficient, but the nature of what 'comes in' and what 'goes out' is an important consideration in underprivileged areas).

The importance of the movement toward neighborhood power and control, and its relationship to administrative decentralization.

The nature of specific grand-in-aid programs which are available to neighborhood groups and agencies as a means of improving some aspects of neighborhood life--housing, urban renewal, manpower training, etc.

* * * * *

One point suggested was to turn the question around and ask what school people might have to offer to community development, if in teacher training the trainees were made aware of community development aims and objectives. Assuming that community development workers are concerned with structuring organizational mechanisms that would result in upgrading the total quality of community life, that would have to include the school, and would be concerned with the problems of the school, as well as the problems of other institutional services that affect community living quality. If school people, especially teachers, recognized and were sensitive to this goal of community developers, then school people could logically look upon community developers as allies, and vice versa. School people could make use of such allies for school purposes by entering into a cooperative relationship with them that would facilitate the airing and understanding of school problems by an inquiring community, thus leading, not to confrontation or defensiveness, but to energetic joint efforts by school and community to uncover and resolve problems about which the school itself is probably already well aware but unable to resolve effectively without the sympathetic understanding and cooperation of the community. This would automatically enhance school-community relationships, and be beneficial to both in a wide variety of ways that are self-evident. Instead of trying to act as social change agents, or social action agents (locating indigenous leadership, etc., and putting it to work

constructively) the school people would simply make allies of others who are in that business, and everybody would get further faster. I could, of course, write a lengthy paper on this, but perhaps this brief (and admittedly rough) statement will be sufficiently suggestive. It would mean that although community development might not be viewed as an essential major course in the teacher training program, at least some degree of exposure through special lectures and discussion (plus maybe a little bit of field work) to the philosophy and methods of community development would be of considerable value.

* * * * *

There was only one outstanding point that I want to stress. That is for the need to legitimate the school in a minority community. Unless this can be done, the school is a custodial institution.

There is a closely related aspect. That is that Dewey conceived the school both as socialization and as reconstruction. For the power group of the society the emphasis is on socialization. If the youth (all youth) could be socialized into the norms of the dominant group all would be well. However, to socialize minority youths into the current society would be to socialize them into a racist society which would, if successful, teach them self-denigration. This they cannot afford. They and their parents see their hope in education as reconstruction. Teachers are not prepared to be reconstructionists, hence they are irrelevant and unwilling to make common cause with them.

* * * * *

I started out taking a stance that if a teacher in training had come through one of our Community Development projects he would probably have emerged with the following outcomes: He would have been;
(a) more aware of agencies and their programs in the community and their relationship to the school;
(b) he would have a more realistic basis on which to determine the community relevance of the school's curriculum;
(c) he would have had both a better operational and theoretical understanding of the Community Power Structure; and
(d) he would have had both more skill and confidence working in the community, i.e. outside the nest of the classroom. The implication here is that these outcomes would have contributed substantially to his equipment as a teacher.

Then we turned to the point that Community Development is in fact MORE than a process. Both implicitly and specifically not only does it deal with community problem solving as a process but equally with the substantive problems which the process is attempting to solve, moreover not in a neutral fashion but throughout dealing with norms and standards of goodness. In other words, Community Development must and does inevitably deal with what a good community is, and could therefore help make this a major goal of instruction. In fact, as we review the history of the school and its program, the emphasis on the good community has been one of the major strands of both curricular theory and practice, for example beginning with John Dewey's School and Society, continuing through the work of Harap, Koopman, E.G. Olsen, etc. It would be easy to document this point.

At this juncture in our conversation I think you asked me if we could justify a course on Community Development for prospective teachers, and I replied emphatically yes, and then you continued by asking if I would like to teach such a course, and again I said I would be delighted to do so, and that it would be Community Development but would have a clear teacher training stance and would therefore be a special curricular mix.

As I look back on our discussion I am appalled that we almost overlooked the GOOD COMMUNITY as a part of Community Development, equal to if not more important than Community Development as process. At least in this letter I am able to flag us all on this oversight, and hope the point receives careful consideration in your final report.

Finally I made the point that in looking to the future, especially the relation of the school and teaching to the community, we should be aware of a new model of what the school can contribute to Community Development. The old K-12 college preparatory model, sometimes called the great American Lock-out, i.e. confine the schedule to 8 to 4 p.m. during the day, Monday to Friday during the week and September to June during the year--to restrict the program only to K-12 age children and youth who survive the traditional requirements..... All this is rapidly becoming obsolete. The new model is the school as a local neighborhood center for education of the entire population with both formal and informal, flexible programs tailor-made to the

needs of the individual. The contours of this model area already have appeared in the Community School program sparked by the Mott Foundation in cooperation with the Board of Education in Flint. It is surfacing elsewhere, for example in the Great Cities program, in many of the innovative inner city projects.

My point is that Community Development takes on a much greater relevance for teaching and teacher training when viewed in the perspective of what the new Community School is already on the road to becoming.

* * * * *

SECTION II

This section contains the greater part of the material abstracted during the literature search. The items are presented alphabetically (by author) according to the following convention. The bibliographical data comes first. Next comes a brief descriptive statement of the nature of the item. Then, under "A", are listed any data supported points, or any points known to be data supportable. Under "B" are listed assertions made in the source material but which appear to be data free. Recommendations made by authors follow, under the "C" heading. Finally, where the abstractor has seen fit, some comments are listed under "D". These mostly indicate what other information is contained in the source item.

It will be remembered that the abstractors were graduate community developers and their community development orientation, as we intended, will have influenced their judgements. However, an educational requirement placed on them served to focus their attention also. We required the searchers to base their selection on whether or not they, as community developers, felt the information before them could be thought to be germane, even remotely germane, to the teacher of urban disadvantaged children. In so far as they thought that there was information here that the teacher, or the trainer of teachers, of disadvantaged children ought to know or appreciate, they were to include it.

Adolph, T. and Whaley, R.F. "Attitudes Toward Adult Education" Adult Education, Vol. XVII, No. 3, Spring 1967.

Research study

A.1. Women are more likely to be favorable toward Adult Education than men.
2. People aged 22-32 are more likely to be favorable toward Adult Education than other age groups because they view it as a road to better jobs.

Aiken, James B. "A high school participates", Patterns of Community Development. Richard Franklin, (ed.), Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1966.

A description of an attempt to test the point of view that social responsibility is learned through long experience.

A.1. Following morning assembly, all students participate in buzz groups with the high degree of enthusiasm exhibited in discussing a survey form completed earlier.
2. Student committees formed accepted responsibility for further work.
3. Follow-up a few years later revealed Community Development process used in the school was useful then as well as later.

B.1. The program was not as successful as possible due to lack of follow-up events.
2. Reasons for process not being repeated
   a. School's preoccupation with own problems.
   b. Traditional detachment of schools from community life in minds of educators, student and parent.
   c. Usual one-way planning by administrators of school activities.
   d. Teaching staff consisting, in part, of non-residents.
   e. Lack of personnel to give attention to student participation.
   f. School officials feeling no pressure or support to engage in such a program.
   g. Reluctance of school people to become entangled in political or other controversial civic activities.
   h. School's relative lack of consciousness of the community's development as a means to the aims of education.
3. Public education is concerned with the development of individuals to the limit of their capacity, and with the development of the community to make it a better place to live in. The two objectives are interdependent.
4. Citizens learn to determine community destiny for themselves through rational problem solving and responsible, widely-shared decision making.
5. The challenge to education of the 'preservation of a free society' will be met when people of all ages and groups become jointly aroused and able and willing to grapple with the social dilemmas of the times.

Anderson, C.Arnold "Economic Development and Post-Primary Education" in Piper, Don C. and Cole, Taylor (eds.) Post-Primary Education and Political and Economic Development, Duke University Press, Durham, 1964.

C.1. Education programs should be related to job opportunities.
2. Grading and other incentive and advancement standards should select and promote skills and attitudes needed in jobs.
3. Education should encourage individualism and initiative. This probably means that standards should be flexible to allow for the encouragement of individual differences.

Arrowsmith, William "The Future of Teaching". The Public Interest, Winter 1967.

B.1. There is too much emphasis on specialized and professional "learning", not enough emphasis on learning about human interaction and the humanities.
C.1. The teacher should be a mediator between past and presen ; and present and future.
2. Technical scholarship creates an alienated culture; education should create a "common culture".
3. Teachers should involve students in the real world. Men can and must use themselves significantly to grow.

Bailey, Wilfred C. and Clune, Francis J. "Preparation of Elementary School Units on the Concept of Culture". Human Organization, Spring 1968.

Discussion of a project undertaken to develop a sequence of instructional materials that would fundamentally but comprehensively introduce pupils to the concepts of anthropology.

B.1. The subject matter of anthropology and concepts of culture can be taught at first and fourth grade levels.
2. Pupils scoring high on social science Battery Tests tended to show highest gains in anthropology.
3. There was a low correlation between pupils' gains in anthropology; however, post-test scores showed significant sources of variance with teacher's group, level of certification, age, and race at both levels.
C.1. The objective of the "concept of culture" unit was sensitization of students to the idea of shared and patterned behavior in societies.
2. In three principles of concepts of culture
a. Basic problems of living are:
1) Survival in physical world
2) Getting along with people.
b. Solutions of these problems vary from place to place.
c. However, there are fundamental similarities in the way all people live.
3. Anthropologists should learn more about classroom interaction; and teachers should learn more anthropology.

Baltzell, E. Digby (ed.) The search for community in modern America, New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

A collection of essays taking a historical-sociological look at the nature of community cohesion in America.

D. All essays deal with the central problem of how a society can institutionalize new social and legal relationships that will best promote a mature and responsible neighborliness appropriate to an urban, bureaucratised and rational social order.

Barclay, Lawrence. "The home visit", Teaching Urban Youth, Kontos, Peter G. and Murphy, James J. (eds.). New York: James Wiley and Sons, 1967.

B.1. The home visit is valuable defensively and offensively in the war against poverty and the blight of disadvantage.
2. The pat feeling of "knowing" disadvantaged due to intellectual understanding causes one to forget one is dealing with individuals.
3. The home visit requires proper preparation; not advisable for every teacher.
4. One objective of visit is to prevent a situation that might jeopardise the student's best development and establish rapport with student and parents.
5. The visit can prevent development of pseudo-relationships with the "disadvantaged" and lead to meaningful involvement.

C.1. Discuss visit with student and inform family prior to visit.
2. Stress positive aspects of projected visit.
3. Agree on a time when whole family can be present.
4. Know as much about the student as possible prior to the visit.
5. Dress appropriately--no briefcase, no clip or pencil.
6. Accept the home as it is.
7. Be businesslike but informal--let the visited set the tone.
8. Don't be patronizing.

Batten, T.R. The Human Factor in Community Work. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.

A collection of case histories with analysis and recommendations.

C.1. Even when people (students) choose a project themselves, the worker (teacher) should check to see that it meets a real need.
2. The worker needs to be able to convince people that he really wants to help them.
3. Solutions to problems must be acceptable in the students' terms as well as the teacher's.
4. The worker needs to give as much attention to leaders who do not sympathize with his aims as to those who do.
5. The worker should not assume, if the people readily agree to a project he suggests, that they therefore want it and will genuinely do their best to carry it through to a successful conclusion.
6. They should make sure that the project has and can keep the support of everyone whose help will be needed.

7. The worker must try to ensure that the changes he promotes, and the way he promotes them, do not adversely affect the status of the people's traditional leaders.
8. The worker should always consult an officer of another department and get his consent before committing him to provide help on a project.
9. When the worker knows before the start of a project that he will need to call on other officers for help, he should neither invite them to share in the planning or alternatively submit his plans to them for comment.
10. The worker must aim to ensure that all those who help on a project get their full share of credit for whatever help they give, even if this means getting less credit for himself.
11. The worker should keep his main purpose in mind, and therefore his natural resentment under control, when the help he asks for is not forthcoming.
12. Before suggesting a project or assigning work one should define for oneself as clearly and specifically as possible the exact need or needs or hopes the project will meet.
13. When suggesting a project or assigning work:
    a. Ask whether the need exists, and promote discussion with a view to getting the people (students) to assess it for themselves.
    b. Promote discussion with a view to getting the people to assess
        1) the extent of the benefits that the project would bring,
        2) how practicable it would be for them
        3) what difficulties they would need to anticipate.

Batten, T.R. The Non-Directive Approach in Group and Community Work. London, Oxford University Press, 1967.

Discusses the non-directive approach to community work where the people are stimulated in self-help problem solving. Examines the value of the approach, the role of the worker, the training of the worker, and the training of trainers.

B.1. The directive approach (planning for the people) is relatively ineffective as a means of influencing all the very many people who are not associated with the program.
2. Since it "thinks" for the people, it deprives them of potential learning experiences.
3. The non-directive approach, or community development
    a. enables people to accomplish more with their limited resources
    b. helps to "develop" people
    c. helps the emergence of "we-feeling"
    d. provides many opportunities of educating and influencing people
4. The degree of a person's maturity is partly dependent on the kind of opportunities he has had on interaction with others and partly on how positively or negatively he has reacted to his difficulties in trying to achieve his purposes with others.
5. In order to assist people to move beyond the initial state

of vague dissatisfaction, the worker must stimulate and provide enough structure to ensure conclusions people reach are practical and relevant to their need.

Batten, T.R. Training for Community Development. London, Oxford University Press, 1962.

B.1. Traditional agency people including teachers lack the attitudes and skills which would allow them to cooperate effectively in broad interdepartmental programs. Their attitude of loyalty toward and identification with their respective agencies preclude such cooperation if they feel that the status or autonomy of their agency is threatened.
C.1. Teachers need orientation training in the goals and methods of the Community Development programs which operate in American ghetto areas and which will benefit greatly from assistance from schools and teachers in the areas of the teachers' competency.
2. The teachers might also improve their communication with their students by working closely with the community development people in the community.
3. Such training for teachers would include
a. Generating a learning attitude on the trainees' part
b. Frank discussion of problems
c. Giving the teachers a feeling of their own importance and the need for their help.
This training should be in-service training.

Beck, Robert H. (ed.) Society and the Schools. New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1965.

C.1. Teachers should understand the relationship between community patterns of living and student patterns of learning.
2. Teachers should grasp the impact of socio-cultural change on the needs of the students.

Bernard, Thomas R. "World Illiteracy and International Development" Adult Leadership, Vol. XVI, No. 5, November 1967.

B.1. Illiteracy is the chief barrier to personal and national progress.
2. Illiteracy is not a synonym for ignorance.
C.1. Attainment of literacy should be regarded as a means to the end of a more productive and rewarding life.

Bonner, Hubert. Group Dynamics, Principles and Applications. New York, The Ronald Press, 1959.

B.1. In a community, the whole determines the behavior of the parts. Children integrate the attitudes of their community, sub-community, and family into themselves, and it is folly to attempt to change such attitudes by exhortaion or arguments.
2. An outsider is a threat to group solidarity, e.g. whitey needs to be careful of his behavior in the ghetto.
3. People will maintain and defend their primary groups and

the norms of those groups.
4. A man will give up a prejudice or another norm only if something better is supplied in its place.
5. Official policies, executed without equivocation, can result in large changes in behavior and attitudes despite initial resistance to those policies. In other words, if whites are forced to integrate with blacks, they learn to like each other better if certain conditions are met.
   a. Behavior of minority group members must not conform to stereotypes.
   b. Interactions must be strong enough to allow prejudiced persons to check their stereotypes with reality.
   c. The prejudiced person must have values which conflict with his prejudices or be exposed to strong social pressures, such as public policies, to change his attitudes.
6. It is impossible to teach democracy in an undemocratic way.

C.1. The surest way to involve people in goal directed activity is first to discover what goals they would like to reach and then to either
   a. design an activity to meet the need(s), or
   b. show how the activity you wish to propose meets the need(s).
2. In order to understand a community, one must understand its informal structure as well as its formal structure.
3. Democratic values require that people participate in planning for changes which affect them.

Brager, George A. "Effecting Organizational Change Through a Demonstration Project: The Case of the Schools", Community Action Against Poverty, Brager et al, (eds.) New Haven, College and University Press, 1967.

An article setting out objectives, resources, and strategies for effecting change in educational systems.

B.1. General areas in need of change:
   a. educational technology, particularly reading.
   b. reduction of school-poor "gap" in orientations by teaching low-income clientele responsible use of power.
   c. strict hierarchial ordering and rigidity of system must be unfrozen.
2. Resources for change:
   a. money
   b. prestigeful education
   c. community influentials
   d. legitimate "insiders"
   e. institutional and resident support
   f. knowledge
   g. publicity.
3. Strategies for change:
   a. Demonstration methods--show by example--homework helper unit shows low-income high-school students can effectively teach elementary school students of similar background.
   b. Integrative methods--work with change target--practical only when objectives are shared.

c. Pressure methods--use to overcome basic disagreements.
4. Can technological innovation alone reverse educational retardation of the disadvantaged child.
5. Most promising resource is mobilization of indigenous community persons to act as coalition with a social agency.

C.1. Sweeping systematic change of schools to establish pre-conditions for creative technology and responsiveness to consumer of educational resources is necessary.

Brink, William and Harris, Louis. "What it's like to be a Negro" in McDonagh, Edward C. and Simpson, Jon E. (eds.) Social Problems: Persistent Challenges. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965.

Report of Newsweek survey of 1963 showing the impact of discrimination on the Negro population in the United States

A.1. All but 13% of rank and file and 4% of leadership groups feel discrimination has affected their lives.
a. many felt it as children and came to hate themselves for color.
b. in the services in World War II they received better pay, food, and clothing but were assigned menial and hard tasks.
2. The greatest affect of discrimination is felt to be in employment.
a. in 1960, 13.3% unemployed; twice the national rate.
b. in 1962, median wage of Negro was 55% of white--$3,023 versus $5,462.
c. 34% reported employment as unskilled laborers.
3. Education
a. 10% of families report one or more drop-out of high school
b. lack of incentive cited as chief reason; they feel there is no worthwhile job anyway.
c. they cite lack of encouragement in home as another chief reason.
d. they feel whites have better facilities, teachers, curricula, and books.
4. Housing; The Negro pays "color tax" of $5 to $20 per room over what whites pay for same kind of housing.

Bruner, Jerome. "The act of Discovery", in McDonagh, Edward C. and Simpson, Jon E. (eds.) Social Problems: Persistent Challenges. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965.

The author offers the hypothesis that an "emphasis on discovery" enables the child to learn better how to go about the task of learning. Based on social-psychological studies.

A.1. In a test where subjects seek to win chips on a two-choice machine were pay-off pattern is random:
a. one group of subjects adopts an "event-matching" strategy; they believe regularities are discoverable.
b. others adopt a "lazy all-and-none strategy", believe in happening by chance,
2. A game of Twenty Questions test has children seek to determine cause of an accident,
a. one group of subjects characterized by "episodic impirisism

are "potshotters" gathering information that is unbounded by prior constraints and is deficient in organizational persistance.
b. others characterized by "cumulative construction" are sensitive to constraint by connective maneuvers and by organized persistance.

A.3. Zajonc experiment offers an answer to aiding learning for future use. Information is given to subjects
a. one-half are told they will have to transmit it later on;
b. others are told merely to keep it in mind.
More differentiation of the information intended for transmittal was found than of information received passively.

B.1. An active attitude leads to a transformation related to a task to be performed.
2. The emphasis on discovery in learning has the effect on learning of leading the child to be a constructionist.
3. It helps him learn varieties of problem solving, transforming information for better use, and helps him learn how to go about the task of learning.

Bruyn, Severyn J. Communities in Action. New Haven: College and University Press, 1963.

An empirical study.

A.1. In order for a teacher to be able to help students to learn, she will have to work with problems which the students recognize as such. That is, if the students' ideas of what they need to learn are greatly different from the teacher's, she will find it extremely difficult to teach.
2. People need time to develop the feeling that they really can do things they've never done before. Learning, as any change in cognitive structure, is a change in identity, however small, and this is not accomplished over-night.
3. As identities change, new relationships develop. They are often frightening, but in the end benign. To try to prevent them developing is to threaten the process. (This includes the relationships between teacher and students.)

Bruyn, Severyn J. Communities in Action. New Haven: College and University Press, 1963.

A.1. Most people in a community do not participate in community affairs, and the higher socio-economic classes participate much more than the lower. Thus, community or neighborhood interest in any project as expressed through ordinary institutional channels is likely to be unrepresentative.
2. In publicizing programs, information provided through mass media is not as good as personal contact in stimulating participation by a large number of people.
3. There is a difference between a "process orientation" and a "content orientation" in education. Process education concerns itself with the development of appropriate problem solving technics in the students.

A.4. Teachers must be flexible enough to move at the pace of the students in any process oriented education.
5. If teachers are to work in ghettos today, they should understand "social movements". These include four stages:
a. stage of social unrest,
b. stage of popular excitement,
c. stage of formalization,
d. stage of institutionalization.
6. The more personally involved people become, the greater the potential for behavior change and the more urgency is given to acceptance of a new idea.
7. Having made a change in behavior, that is, entered a new role, people need to be helped to develop confidence in the new role.

Butler, Boyd R. "Cleavage in Peoplesville's power elite", in Franklin, Richard (ed.) Patterns of Community Development. Washington D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1966.

A report on an experiment to weld a split in the leadership pyramid of a community that was impeding community change.

A.1. Sander's sociometric test reveals 14 top leaders.
2. Three members are those who have been depicted as opposing development programs.
B.1. If power figures will commit themselves in the presence of their peers to support of the program, a development program might be salvaged.
a. A meeting called for 14 leaders and told of their collective ranking by community.
b. They were told the program of development would be successful only if all supported it.
c. The question was addressed to the group asking if they wanted a development program.
d. The professional left the room while the group thrashed out a reply.
e. A consensus of agreement was achieved.
C.1. Do not expect too much from the experiment--results were limited.
2. Value of the experiment was seen in mitigating hostility between factions.

Campbell, Alan K. and Merants, Phillip "The Metropolitan educational dilemma: Matching resources to needs" in Gittell, Marilyn (ed.) Educating An Urban Populatio . Beverly Hills, Sage Publications Inc., 1967.

A.1. Single most salient determinant to educational achievement is family income.
B.1. Solution to educating disadvantaged pupils is not in providing education with a different purpose for them.
2. The central issue is allocation of sufficient resources to the field of education for the disadvantaged to help them overcome present handicaps.
C.1. Creation of education parks or campuses may be a feasible proposition for providing higher quality education for all pupils.

Carson, Robert B. et al. Teacher participation in the community. Eugene, University of Oregon, 1962.

A survey study.

A.1. Teachers participate very little as policy or decision makers either in educational matters or in other community affairs.
2. Teachers' views of what their level and types of participation should be are not very different from their behavior as measured by this study.
3. School board members, "community influentials" and school administrators have a narrower view of what constitutes proper participation by teachers in policy-making than do teachers themselves. But the difference is not great enough to support the view that teachers refrain from participating in community decision making through fear of community pressure.

Catalano, Thelma P. "The process of mutual redefinition--counselling and teaching children from urban slums" in Robert A. Dentler, et al, (eds). The Urban R's, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

B. Cognitions of an individual are all related and therefore bear on his self-concept, his identity. Therefore, willingness to learn involves identity change, however small, which is a frightening thing. In order for teachers to teach and for learners to learn, a relation of mutual trust must be built up in which the student feels sufficiently secure to be willing to risk his identity.
C. In order for a relationship of mutual trust to be established, teachers must avoid behaving in ways which the student may perceive as threatening, hostile, or indifferent. Since slum children perceive all of the usual institutional authority figures as threatening or indifferent, the teacher cannot react to small violations of the ordinary amenities of school life as she understands them in an authoritarian or dominating manner merely in order to preserve her own status or authority. To do so, will inevitably damage the required relationship of mutual trust.

Cavan, Ruth Shonle. "What is delinquency?" in McDonagh, Edward C. and Simpson, Jon E. (eds.) Social Problems: Persistent Challenges. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965.

B.1. Every social class has its own definition of what constitutes behavior falling in the area of tolerance, what is disapproved mildly or seriously, and what is condemned.
a. the differences between middle and lower class definitions are especially pertinent.
b. parents view certain behavior as acceptable, whereas teachers and judges view it as unacceptable or reprehensible.
2. Differences are important in expectations of behavior for delinquent youths on probation or parole, at least some requirements are over-conforming by lower class standards

and are virtually impossible for a youth to follow if he is to remain in the lower class community and not be isolated from natural social groups.

B.3. Probations and parole might be more often successful if the youth were required to meet reasonably conforming lower class standards.

4. Serious deviants are often treated so severely that they are alienated and withdrawn into a contra-culture.

Clark, Kenneth B. Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper and Row, 1965.

A sociological study that attempts to illuminate the reader to life in human ghettos and makes some recommendations for change.

A.1. Problems of American Negroes are now nothern urban problems.

2. Another problem for the urban Negro is unemployment and menial job status.

3. The homicide rate is extremely high in the ghetto, but the suicide rate is low.

4. The trend toward school segregation is accelerating.

5. Children do not learn when they are assumed to be inferior material.

B.1. Invisible walls are not only damaging but are protective in a debilitating way; it is a depressive way of life.

2. A creative, constructive culture in the ghetto must be built to replace hostility and alienation.

3. White man's society still governs the Negro's image of himself.

4. The pathology of ghetto is self-perpetuating; and one pathology breeds another.

5. Recreation programs are not getting to the fundamental predicament of ghetto youths' problems.

6. To control crime, conditions that breed violence must be changed, not just individual criminals reformed.

C.1. Best recurits for programs are local residents who have not yet developed professional ennui.

2. Programs should involve youth, (labelled as "delinquents") in commu nity problems and social action:

a. it gives them insights and understanding of their predicament.

b. it taps and channels the sensitivity and energy of those who do have the energy to rebel rather than succumb to apathy.

3. There must be a concerted and massive attack on the social, political, economic, and cultural route of the pathology if anything more than daubing or a displacement of the symptoms is to be achieved.

4. The problem of change in the ghetto is a problem of power: ghetto power must develop to engage those forces opposed to change and counteract them.

5. Whites must join blacks in this struggle; both need each other.

Clark, Kenneth B. "Educational stimulation of racially disadvantaged children", in Passow, A. Harry (ed.) Schools in Depressed Areas. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

Based on empirical studies. It underscores the responsibility of schools for the level of scholastic achievement for pupils in depressed areas.

A.1. Academic achievement varies directly with socio-economic status.
2. Many teachers in these areas view children as inherently inferior.
3. I.Q. test scores will increase on the average as children advance to positive and stimulating atmospheres.

B.1. Effective functioning of a democratic democracy demands maximum educational stimulation for all American children.
2. When a child from a deprived background is treated as uneducable due to low test score, he becomes uneducable and low scores are reinforced.
3. I.Q. measures the rate of learning; the child with a lower I.Q. can conceivably learn what others learn, but it will only take a longer time.
4. James B. Conant's Slums and Suburbs is an archaic educational piece of snobbery that sees two types of human beings--those who can be educated and those who can't be educated.

C.1. Provide conditions in schools necessary for building positive images in children--a non-segregated school situation is basic for this.
2. Revamp material to raise self-esteem and at the same time broaden perspectives.
3. Supplement test scores with teacher estimates, counselor judgements, and any other evidence of capacity for superior intellectual interests as means for judging the ability of a child.
4. Re-examine teacher training curricula.
5. Must provide a single standard af academic expectations and provide the extra stimulation and encouragement necessary to compensate for past deprivations.

Clinard, Marshall B. Slums and Community Development. New York, The Free Press, 1966.

The book is an attempt to apply sociological concepts to an understanding and solution of the problem of the slum. The basis of empirical study is India.

B.1. A slum is a way of life; a sub-culture containing a set of norms and values.
2. Slums result from a lack of economic and educational opportunities; given a chance to better themselves, people of slums will respond and take advantage of services.
3. The welfare approach is erroneous in assuming problems haunting slum families are produced mainly by difficulties within individuals.

B.4. Solutions must come through residents' own efforts if they are to be effective.
5. "Urban Community Development" offers a new approach to problems of slums.
C.1. Seek to accomplish: community feeling, self-help, indigenous leadership, cooperation between people and government in the use of services.
2. Conceptual framework for work: goals for urban community development.
a. use group approach to slum problems.
b. recognition of co-munity differences
c. creation of new types of social organisation
d. group perception of the need for change
e. pursuit of self-imposed change
f. use of voluntary groups for change
g. change in identity or self-image
h. utilize indigenous workers and leadership
i. representative community leadership needed
j. giving of responsibility and credit to ordinary people
k. use of conflict and the need for power in social change
l. utilize competition between groups
m. utilization of chain reactions in social change--accomplishment of one project leads to another
n. utilization of outside assistance in attaining objectives
o. decentralization of some government functions.

Cloward, Richard A. and Jones, James A. "Social class: educational attitudes and participation". In Passow, A. Harry (ed.) Schools in Depressed Areas. New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

Survey relating to the correlation between socio-economic position and academic achievement.

A.1. Attitude toward amount of education needed was related to occupational aspirations: lower class persons influenced by lower occupational aspirations put less emphasis on education for educational use than middle class persons; there was no class difference, however, in amount of importance placed on education.
2. Middle class has more negative attitude toward school as an institution; only when opinion asked as to school's reaction to low strata pupils, do lower class show more negative attitudes.
3. Participation in educational activities increases the value of education held by parents.

Coleman, James S. "Athletics in high school", in McLendon, Jonathon C. (ed.) Social Foundations of Education: Current Readings from the Behavior Sciences. New York, MacMillan Company, 1966.

A study of athletics in high school functioning as a factor in understanding social background as a basis for status for boys and in giving the school and community collective identity.

A.1. In ten schools in a mid-west study, the star male athletics (while only 6.6% of the male enrolment) received 47.4% of "be friends with" and "be liked" choices, and 36.5% of all leading crowd nominations.
2. The Tannenbaun study of acceptability in a predominantly Jewish, middle class area shows high acceptance to low acceptance patterns:
a. brilliant non-studious athlete
b. average non-studious athlete
c. average studious athlete
d. brilliant studious athlete
e. brilliant non-studious non-athlete
f. average non-studious non-athlete
g. average studious non-athlete
h. brilliant studious non-athlete

B.1. Without athletics or something like it, drop-out rate and delinquency of boys might be far higher than it is now.
2. Athletics introduces an important democratizing factor in status system for boys in high school--it undercuts social background as a basis for status.
3. Grades are a poor motivating mechanism because they are unique to school and useful only in comparison with grades of fellow students. Such comparisons set students in competition with fellows and are powerful divisive forces.
4. Schools have no natural collective mechanism going for them. Athletics and similar activities provide such collective goals.

C.1. Since athletics do transform the institution from one of learning to one focussed on athletics, seek other games, such as debates, music, drama, math, and have inter-scholastic leagues.

Coleman, James S. "Equal Schools for Equal Students?" The Public Interest, Winter 1966.

A discussion based upon results of an E.T.S. survey of relations between a student's abilities and his cultural and social background.

A.1. Minority children have a serious education deficiency at start of school.
2. Minority children have an even more serious deficiency at end of school--obviously in part a result of school.
3. Within each racial group, there is a strong relationship between economic and family bacground and achievement in school.
4. Per student expenditure shows virtually no relation to achievement if "social" environment of school--i.e. educational background of other students and teachers is held constant.

C.1. Must replace family environment in culturally deprived areas within the educational environment (e.g. longer school day).
2. Must reduce social and racial homogeneity of schools.

C.3. Overall school program must overcome initial differences.
4. Negro's determination to overcome "relevant" obstacles, and belief that he will overcome them, are most crucial elements in achieving equality of opportunity, because of changes they create in community.

Community Council of Greater New York. Issues in Community Action Research. New York, Research Department, Community Council of New York, 1967.

A collection of three presentations and the group discussions from the Council's Spring Research Forum on evaluation research, held May 4, 1966.

B.1. The functioning and problems of a concrete research operation:
a. based on Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited experiences,
b. conducts three research programs:
1) long term evaluation,
2) operational research, and
3) special studies of programs,
c. due to administrative demands, emphasis on operational research is stressed.
2. Evaluation research at the administrative level:
a. anti-poverty programs usually have chaotic beginnings--competing for funds, recruiting loyal workers, etc.
b. evaluations conducted on programs are potentially dangerous--they could be used as a political tool against the agency.
3. Evaluation research at the level of National impact finds "successful" programs of Mobilization for Youth do not have widespread acceptance in other areas.
C.1. While any successful research program demands autonomy from the program, researchers must remember they have a responsibility to service programs that employ them.
2. Most anti-poverty programs should not attempt to do research until it can afford to say some of its efforts were wasted.
3. Programs that get down to "gut issues" of low-income people are resisted due to the dilemmas they pose for professional groups who strive to maintain a semblance of professionalism in the broader community.

Conn, Robert H. "The Art of Communication". Adult Leadership, December 1968.

Based on research being done in the field of personal communication.

C.1. 10 guidelines for improving personal communication:
a. be careful of hidden messages--facial expressions, tone of voice and gestures.
b. crystallize ideas before presenting them
c. use simple, plain words
d. use short sentences
e. speak slowly and clearly
f. present only one point at a time

g. determine objectives of your communication
h. tell listener how he can benefit by your words and he will pay close attention
i. be a good listener. Don't mentally refute speaker until you have heard everything he has to say
j. check constantly in small group or classroom situation to see how your message is being received.

C.2. Must seek new technology to improve interpersonal communications if we are to keep pace with the growing complexity of concepts we have to relate in our daily interactions with others.

Cuban, Larry. "Not 'whether?' but 'why and how?'--instructional materials on the Negro in the public schools". Journal of Negro Education, 36, 1967.

Some limitations of ethnic curriculum material and suggestions to make them more effective.

B.1. There is no evidence to show a change in self-esteem and behavior of Negroes through exposure to Negro success stories.
2. Showing excessive good will (all successes and no failures) will undermine effectively history teaching.
3. Recent curriculum reform has not stressed the accumulation of factual knowledge, thus running counter to the aim of developing positive self-concept through instructional materials.

C.1. Ethnic curriculum materials should not be used on a "supplementary" basis but should become an integral part of the unit.
2. Teachers who use such materials must be specially trained.

Davis, Kingsley. "The role of class mobility in economic development" in Goode, Wm.J. (ed.) The Dynamics of Modern Society. New York, Atherton Press, 1966.

Implications for increased motivation as chances for social mobility are increased.

B.1. The chance to get ahead by effort rather than virtue of birth stimulates people to work harder.
2. Expanding opportunities leads to a greater willingness to make long-range plans, i.e. persons motivated to undergo rigors of formal education and technical training.
3. Open opportunities leads person to see his best chance, lies not in conforming to past procedures, but in improving on them.
4. Increased opportunity leads directly to economic development.

Dentler, Robert A. "A critique of education projects in community action programs". In Dentler, Robert A. et al (eds.), The Urban R's. New York, Frederick A Praeger, 1967..

B.1. Few of the projects are in any way innovative and so we

have no reason to believe that they will succeed where others have failed.

B.2. Innovations in education which do not involve key school personnel like teachers, principals, or superintendents but from which they can expect local reaction are likely to be evaded or diluted to ineffectiveness. Therefore, new programs must have incentives in them for the "old guard" to cooperate.

3. Changes in the organization or programs of public schools cannot be long sustained without some corresponding changes in the social structure of the surrounding community including racial integration.

Department of State, Agency for International Development. AID Participant Training Program: An Evaluation Study. Washington D.C., 1966.

A report of a study made to determine the effectiveness of the training program in preparing technicians in developing countries for specific positions.

A.1. Attitudes toward program prior to training:
   a. programs that were shorter or more fully arranged were often anticipated with satisfaction,
   b. those receiving (more) information or who adjudged (more) aspects of the programs were adequately covered during orientation, were considered more likely to have been "well satisfied" with their program before entering it.

2. Over half felt training was too short. Examination of stated preferences in light of actual training, found the more they got the more they wanted.

3. Only 1% of all participants failed to complete the program due to some manifest flaw in its character. 25% returned home earlier than scheduled; of these, over half "pulled" from the program due to demands emanating from some other source.

4. Supervisors were primarily concerned with the relevance of a program of training for the work the returned participants would be called upon to do; the participants put strong emphasis upon the personal rewards resulting from training.

5. Scarcity of available resources in form of capital and equipment and lack of support from those in authority were chief problems of returning participants.

6. Chances for optimal uses of training were poor among the youngest (under 25) and oldest (over 50).

Derr, Richard L., "Urban educational problems," Educating An Urban Population, Marilyn Gittell (ed.), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc., 1967,

A new model to deal with urbar education problems.

B.1. Most popular models focus upon the individual student under the strategy of compensatory education. Such models are individualistic.
2. They assume the school is powerless to alter community conditions.
3. However, this does not mean that school teachers should ignore these conditions.
4. In social scientific terms, the major task of educational contribution is socialization.
5. Institutional dependance model
   a. One strategy of the model is the strategy of integration. It calls for direct involvement of the school in the community - involvement designed to change community in fundamental ways.
   b. The second strategy is that of Functional Autonomy. That is, implement all means to have community influences minimized and increase ones' own status as a dependant institution.
   c. Individualistic models had little promise for generating a successful resolution of the problems of urban schools. These two strategies provide educators with two distinct approaches to meet needs of culturally deprived children.

Deutsch, Martin P. "The disadvantaged child and the learning process," Schools In Depressed Areas, A. Harry Passow (ed.), New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1963,

An examination of the impact of social and developmental factors on intellectual growth and school performance of culturally deprived children.

B.1. Environmental factors:
   a. Sequelae of conditions of slavery still exist in lower class Negro group.
   b. The child has no experience with a "successful" male model.
   c. Absence of such objects as books, toys, pencils, and paper in the home.
   d. Absence of moments of privacy.
   e. Restriction of movement to immediate environment.
2. Psychological factors:
   a. Restriction to a segment of the spectrum of stimulation potential available.
   b. With less variety in input, it is reasonable to assume a concomitant restriction on the variety of output.
   c. The child is further away from his maturation ceiling due to experimental poverty.
   d. The sparcity of manipulable objects in the environment give the child few opportunities to manipulate and

organize properties of the environment.
e. May also affect from discrimination and visual spatial organization.
f. Lower-class home not verbally oriented environment--thus ideal for child to learn inattention; he does not practice auditory discrimination.
g. Memory related to attentivity; constriction of language use and lack of shared activities results in less stimulation of early memory function and produces present-orientation.
h. Lack of expectation of reward in pre-school orientation.
i. Addressing of questions to adults is discouraged.
j. Language deficiency on the home has multiple affects.

C.1. Develop well structured programs for pre-kindergarten levels.
2. Ungraded program sequence from age 3-4 to 8, with low teacher-pupil ratio.
3. Make full use of social sciences to interpret cultural discontinuities in life of child.

Dick, Robert N. "Planned Failure In Responsible Program Development." Adult Leadership, Vol. 16, No. 6, December 1967.

Criticism of programming of adult education classes based on only public interest. He suggests that the adult educator must lead the program.

B.1. The "system" biased by public's image of adult education. The public cannot ask for something it doesn't know about.
2. Public will ask institution for only what it thinks, in its limited understanding, it can teach.
3. The "system" overlooks what is already being taught in the community by other agencies.

C.1. Adult educator must whet intellectual appetites. He must create eduactional "wants" which go far beyond expressed "needs."
2. Every successful institution should build a margin of planned failure into its programs to learn what cannot be done and to permit exploration of the frontiers.

Dickinson, Gary & Verner, Coolie. "Attendance Patterns and Dropouts In Adult Night School Classes," Adult Education. Vol. XIX, No. 1, Fall, 1967.

A study of 2,075 persons enrolled in 98 public adult night classes in a suburban district near Vancouver, B.C. It examines characteristics of dropouts in relation to attendance patterns.

A.1. General interest courses have highest average daily attendance-ADA-70.3%; academic the lowest - 52.9%.
2. Courses of 10 or less meetings had ADA of 83.7%; eleven to twenty sessions had ADA of 55.5%.
3. Dropouts for all participants constituted 27.8%.
4. In general, older, married housewives who had children were more persistant attenders, while the dropouts were younger and usually single.

Donaldson, Marion G. "Teachers as active political citizens," Childhood Education, Vol. 44, No. 8.

B.1. Most civics courses are a waste of time. Students who take them have neither greater knowledge nor higher motivation than those who don't.
2. There is a need for political participation by teachers because teachers have a unique understanding of the political process.
3. Teachers cannot teach citizenship unless they are, themselves, participating citizens.
4. Education is dependent on political action for financial support.

C.1. Teachers should be involved in politics, particularly in relation to their own governing boards in order to work effectively for improved education.

Douglas, Joseph H. "Training Leadership For Social Change," Adult Leadership, Vol. XVI, No. 7, 1968.

The author's thesis is that there exists a need for and a means of training present-day and future leadership.

There are 12.5 million children under age 18 whose family's incomes are under $3,000 a year. A 1960 Ford Foundation study shows one-third of the urban school population is disadvantaged. It predicts figures will rise to one-half by 1970.

C.1. Methods of Training Leadership.
a. Participation in processes, backed up by internship for younger leaders, formal training and continuing education.
b. "Planning, teaching, observation cycle" (PTA) at the Harvard-Boston Summer Program in Urban Education provides enrichment experience on a professional level.
c. "Each one teach one" in Gary, Indiana--low-income women pass on to one neighbor one skill they learned from the extension center.
d. "Neighborhood Development". A method of work--an integrative, self-help approach in changing neighborhood environments through the efforts of residents themselves, backed up by community resources.
2. Leadership is a front line function in social action. It must do more than repair human wreckage. Training efforts must be cast in a dynamic frame of problem prevention, problem-seeking, and problem-solving.

Dunham, Arthur. Community welfare organization. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958.

C.1. People engaged in bringing new ways to others need an understanding of the existing cultural patterns of those to whom the changes are brought.
2. The consumers of a service should be participants in planning for the service.
3. Since the school can meet only one aspect of the related needs of its clients, it should seek to work with other agencies and neighborhood groups.

DuSautoy, Peter. The Organization of a Community Development Program. London, Oxfort University Press, 1962.

Description of elements of a community development program.

C.1. Since no one agency can meet people's needs altogether, a coordinated wholistic approach is needed.
2. Ghetto people do not recognize that they have economic, social, or educational problems. They have only one problem: life. They do not think in neat bureaucratic or disciplinary boxes. Therefore, any program which wants to enlist their support must be wholistic and begin at some point(s) which is salient to them.

Eddy, Elizabeth. "Anthropology and Teacher Education". Human Organization, Spring, 1968.

Problem areas in relations between anthropology and teacher education.

B.1. The slum child is viewed by teachers as one whose values and behavior must be changed so that they conform with dominant middle class expectations of American society.
2. Teachers are frequently at loss when confronted with students who don't share their own socio-cultural background and values. There is a tendency to adopt a disciplinary role rather than an educational role.
3. Teacher education is designed to provide methods for encouraging student conformity with work activities defined by the educational system as appropriate to pupil's age and ability.
4. There is professional provincialism among teachers.
5. Learning to teach is a process of socialization beginning when the child enters 1st grade, i.e. the child's teachers are early models, and this process provides sources of resistance to change.
6. Anthropology can provide technics that will allow teachers to impart to pupils human skills for dealing with the complex, rapidly changing world.

Edelfelt, Roy A. "The Teacher and His Staff". Virginia Journal of Education, Vol. 60, No. 8, April 1967.

A proposal for a new concept of the teacher role.

B.1. The changing educational center has created a need for experimentation and investigation of new ways to utilize the staff in schools.
2. The J. Lloyd Trump model overemphasizes scholarly and academic aspects.
3. Head Start model underemphasizes scholarly and academic concerns.

C.1. Teacher and his staff model will have interns under supervision of the teacher cooperating together in classroom.
2. The teacher will become part supervisor and administrator.
3. This should help attract and keep talented people in the classroom.

B.4. It should help establish a core of career teachers.
5. If such ideas are adopted, we stand some chance to staff schools with personnel who have the competence, energy, and time to deal effectively with the responsibilities of teaching.

Etzioni, A. "Shortcuts to Social Change?" The Public Interest. Summer, 1968.

A discussion of "symptomatic" treatment of social problems versus "causal" treatment of social problems.

B.1. The treatment of symptoms of social problems is inadequate--must eventually get to causes.
2. If no other solution is available, symptoms should be treated; however, symptomatic treatment is only a superficial resolution of the problem.

Fisher, John H. "Educational problems of segregation and desegregation", in Passow, A. Harry (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

B.1. We must recognize the fact that the Negro child is having certain unique problems which other American children had to face in the same way.
2. The teacher-pupil relationship is ultimately the critical point in the educational system.
3. The central purpose of the school must be to help the child to use his mind more effectively.
C.1. Every child must be approached on an individual basis.
2. Must relate the child's instruction to his background, his needs and his possibilities.
3. Since "equality of opportunity" connotes a condition in which every American may rightfully expect to find himself in fair condition with other Americans, Negro children, due to past injustices, should be offered compensatory opportunities.

Franklin, Richard. "Another Canterbury Tale". In Franklin, Richard (ed.) Patterns of Community Development. Washington D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1966.

A case study of a methodology of community work that encourages citizens' participation in learning self-reliance, community self-determination, and the dynamics of the process of change.

B.1. Reasons why a community fails to take initiative;
a. lack of ability and desire of diverse groups to work together on shared problems,
b. town leaders unwilling to accept community responsibility,
c. feeling of dependency on government and university
d. lack of problem-solving "know-how",
e. absence of "know-why".
2. Reasons why the community takes initiative for change and development.

a. Community begins to understand its destiny is in its own hands; a consultant can add knowledge, serve as liaison function, give emotional support, suggest procedures, and show concern for problems, but he cannot decide for or do for the community.
b. Self-pride, pride in community, fear of comparison with other communities.
c. Leadership with social skill and a vision of the "whole" community.
d. Reinforcement by consultants who refuse to be a part of manipulators' intrigue by stressing openness and democratic standards in decision making process.
e. Taste of success helps create self-confidence in newer projects.
f. Passage of time for basic community development principles to take hold.

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. "An ideology of school withdrawal," Social Foundations of Education: Current Readings from the Behavioral Sciences. Jonathon C. McLendon, ed. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966.

This article suggests the school itself may be forcing students to drop out who come to hold, in part, a moral revulsion of the middle class life of the school.

B.1. Schools and poor once assumed the only way to get ahead in America was to learn a new set of social conventions as well as a body of skills.
2. While economic appeal of education may be true, implications are false. It does not follow that most dropouts would have a better chance if they stayed in school; there would not be sufficient jobs if all stayed in school and students are skeptical enough to know this.
3. Dropouts by and large don't like middle class life, and by dropping out are telling us what we can do with it. Dropping out is one way of telling us to turn our attention to things about the school that are bugging them.
4. While faced with much opposition in environment, kids are not alienated from themselves.

C.1. Must start by accepting their "raison d'etre."
2. Must take lower class life seriously as a condition and pattern of experience, not just a contemptible set of circumstances all are anxious to escape from.
3. Must accept their language, dress, and values as point of departure for disciplined exploration. The latter should not be understood as a trick to lure them to middle class life, but as a way of helping them explore the meaning of their own lives.
4. Most lower class people are not satisfied with their lot, but it is no excuse for us to force our way of life on them as the only acceptable alternative. This is something they must work out themselves and the school's job is to help them understand most fully the meaning of and nature of what they must work with.

5. Order in the classroom is not the first task. It is helpful for learning, but grows out of a common task.

Goldberg, Miriam L. "Factors affecting educational attainment in depressed urban areas." Schools In Depressed Areas. A. Harry Passow (ed.), New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963,

Survey of forces affecting achievement and performance of depressed urban area children.

A.1. Family life provides few of experiences needed to produce readiness for academic learning either intellectually or attitudinally.
2. Early failure leads to rebellion, negative self-image, search for status outside school, and active resentment against the society the school represents.
3. Delinquency aids the child to become a member of the in-group.
4. Realistic or perceived barriers to social mobility through legitimate channels, one of which is longer years in school, weaken drive to succeed in school.
5. The problem of orientation to the present is considerable.

C.1. Pre-school education--three years old.
2. Primary grades as preparatory to formal instruction--build up repertoire of verbal experiences--speaking and listening.
3. More males--supplement female teachers with male assistants.
4. Separate classes by sex in elementary grades.
5. Shift to urban oriented materials.
6. Special methods:
   a. motor-oriented teaching
   b. use of tangible rewards
   c. use of relevant material will increase attention span.
7. Pupil's social class status seems related to teacher ratings of pupil acceptability.

Goodenough, Ward Hunt. Cooperation in change. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963.

Chapter 1, "Cooperation in Change: A professional view."

B.1. If one desires to effect a change in a group which requires their active participation, he must thoroughly understand the group.
2. In any program of directed social change, two sets of wants are relevant, those of the change agent (teacher) and those of the people being asked to change.
3. People find it difficult to take account of the wants of others, and the more removed one is socially from another, the more difficult one finds it to take the other's wants seriously. This is known as ethnocentrism.
4. Since administrators are farther from the recipients of a change program than are the field workers, conflict often arises between them because the latter is likely to be more concerned with the wants of the recipients or clients than is the former.

5. Resistance to change efforts (e.g. teaching) is a sign that there are unresolved problems in the change situation. Coercion is likely to magnify these problems although it may result in the achievement of some purely technical objective, e.g., a student's passing an exam. The real problem is how to reduce or forestall resistance.

C. The change agent (teacher) should

1. Be acquainted with the scientific theory regarding human behavior.
2. Have a clear idea of the nature and properties of what is being changed: ideas, beliefs, customs and how they function in human affairs.
3. Learn how to gain accurate knowledge of a local situation.
4. Be free to conduct himself in ways that benefit his knowledge of the local situation, his general understanding of function and process in human institutions and customs, and his professional objectives.
5. Know where to turn to for competent help.
6. Make his own work an object of study by making predictions and checking their outcome, by keeping a careful record and subjecting it to periodic analysis, and by explicitly formulating his conclusions.

Chapter 11, "Wants and Needs."

B.1. A "want" is a perceived discrepancy between an actual situation and some desired state of affairs. Since different people (a teacher and her students) both perceive the actual situation differently and desire different ultimate situations, their "wants" are different.

2. A teacher, being middle class, is likely to have wants quite different from those of lower class pupils.
3. A "need" is the means for effecting the change from an actual to a desired state of affairs. Needs are of three sorts.
   a. Real needs - those which an omniscient observer would recommend to effect the desired change.
   b. Felt needs - those which the client (student) perceives as effective.
   c. Observed needs - those which the change agent (teacher) considers most effective.
4. Teachers and students are likely to have widely divergent opinions concerning the students'"needs" in any situation. But the student cannot be expected to be motivated to do what the teacher would like him to unless the student sees the action as an effective means for achieving some desired goal. This problem will exist even when the goals can be agreed upon.
5. Since the students cannot be expected to take the teacher's wants and needs for them as their own, it is up to the teacher to take account of the felt wants and needs of the students if their cooperation is desired. They will be motivated to learn according to their wants and needs and not the teacher's.

Chapter 111, "Custom and Function."

1. People have no inborn specific warp of behaving. All specific behavior is learned.
2. All men have similar (not identical) innate capacities for learning. There may be differences between populations as to the distribution of this capacity but such differences are almost certainly not great.
3. Since all customs are learned, it follows that only relatively effective means of gratifying recurrent wants can become customary.
4. Customary behavior is worked by each group into a coherent pattern so that each item is related to others and the total is more than a list of items; it is a unified whole. The pattern places limits on the forms which particular items can take and sometimes prevents dysfunctional (Non-gratifying) items of behavior from being discarded. The latter occurs when a particular custom is felt as producing discomfort or unhappiness, but changing is felt to be worse. For example, we do not know whether it is better to prolong the life of a sick man who cannot be cured or not.
5. Sometimes customs which are harmful to the group are carried on because they gratify individual wants.
6. All customs have side effects some of which are not known. So, any change in customary behavior is likely to have unanticipated consequences.
7. The meaning which a group attaches to a custom may well be different from its function as an observer would describe it.

Chapter V, "Custom and Value."

1. Every society has "public values" which are accepted by most of its members.
2. The public values include the rules which govern the relationships between groups. Some groups have a higher place than others and receive more of society's rewards. This can be accepted by all groups in society as long as each group's aspirations are adjusted accordingly. However, programs aiming to produce changes in the behavior and values of members of some groups (for example, improved education in urban ghettos) are likely to result in conflict because, to continue the example, the ghetto peopls's horizons will widen, and they will no longer accept the low status and small rewards allotted to them in our public value system. Such conflict probably cannot be avoided and should be expected and recognized for what it is.
3. In a complex society such as ours, different groups often have different values. This works all right as long as no group tries to impose its values on another. Such imposition can very rarely be successful. In educational programs, people are willing to be taught. If the object of education in ghetto schools is to equip students to live successfully in the larger American context, and if they can be persuaded that such a goal is worthwhile and attainable, they will need to learn some new values in order to cope with situations

outside their accustomed ones. Even such limited changes in values will not be easily achieved. If, on the other hand, the goal is to class values in toto, the prospects for success are almost nil.

Chapter VIII, "Identity and Personal Worth."

A.1. Each of us has an identity which is made up of social and personal features.
2. Since identity depends on perception, I may not perceive my identity as you do.
3. Identity can change as new features are added or old ones dropped, but in every society certain features are regarded as immutable, e.g. race among ourselves or social class in medieval Europe.
4. In addition certain features can become immutable by being so regarded, e.g. level of intelligence or social poise or mathematical ability.
5. Item 4 is important for education. If, a program aims to change features of a student's identity which either he or the teacher regards as immutable, the program will probably not succeed. For one cannot really commit himself to a course of action whose aims he regards as unattainable.
6. One of the chief obstacles to educational improvement among ghetto children is the widespread belief in their constitutional inferiority, a belief which they often share. I cannot change my identity if I don't believe in the reality of the change.
7. At the same time, however much I may believe in a change in my identity, I cannot really change unless others also accept my new identity. If a student begins to improve, but teachers continue to treat him as a poor student, it will be very difficult for him to sustain his new image of himself on which his achievement depends.
8. In addition to his actual identity, everyone has identity ideals, that is, he has an idea of the kind of person he would like to be. Such ideals are largely determined by social norms. An important point for teachers is that if the identity ideals which teachers have for their students are very different from those which the students have for themselves, it will be difficult for the teacher to enlist the willing efforts of the students unless she deliberately orders her teaching around the student's own identity ideals.
9. People develop their conceptions of self in relation to identity models, that is, others who embody identity ideals. Such models must, in addition, be similar enough to the people concerned for them to be able to see the model as attainable.

Chapter IX, "Identity Change."

1. Everyone goes through a number of identity changes in his life as he passes through various stages and occupies various statuses. Education is essentially an attempt to induce people to change their self concept in certain ways desired by the society.

2. Each person's self concept (his own view of his identity) is made up from the perceptual categories he has available to him as a result of his experience.
3. People can change their identities in two ways. They can rearrange their existing p rceptual categories in new combinations, as, for example, when a man combines his view of himself with his existing concept of marriage to conceive himself a married man. The other way people change their identities is by acquiring new perceptual categories or new criteria for self appraisal, as, for example, when a young man goes to medical school and learns the perceptual categories necessary to a conception of himself as a doctor.
4. The first of the two ways is much the easier to accomplish, and, so, educational efforts should be directed toward this end. The teacher should try to appeal to her students in terms of their own perceptual framework, their own identities and identity ideals. Otherwise, the students probably will not be motivated to learn.
5. The alternative of trying to change the perceptual framework in which the students view themselves by introducing new perceptual categories can be accomplished only insofar as the teacher can subject the students to new experiences sufficiently shocking that the students are jolted into new ways of looking at themselves. Since this cannot be done under present policies without some degree of voluntary cooperation from the students, the prospects for this kind of identity change are slim.
6. There is a further requirement for successful identity change. People change their views of themselves in situations where their old identities no longer fill their needs and where their old perceptual framework cannot make sense of the situation. In order to maintain the change, it is necessary for them to continue to have experiences to which their new perceptual system is applicable. If they return to the situations they were in before the change and do not continue to have experiences which support them in their new identities, they can be expected to lose the new identity and revert to the old. Just as we lose the ability to speak a foreign language if we do not use it, so we lose the ability to perceive ourselves in certain ways if they are inapplicable or inappropriate to at least some of the situations in which we operate.
7. People often feel considerable anxiety over impending changes in their identities even when they want very much to make the change, and we have evolved ways of helping people get through the major identity changes our society requires. Thus, for example, a bride is given a "shower", so she is confirmed in her committment to go through with the wedding and encouraged by the envy and attention of her friends.
8. In cases where an individual or a group wants to make a change of identity which is not a normal part of growth in their society, their anxiety causes them to commit some act which will commit them irrevocably to the change. Such acts

include sudden rudeness or radical changes in dress which force others to stop regarding the one attempting to change in the old way. Since actions which achieve this end must be very provocatige, antisocial actions are a tempting way to accomplish it. Whatever the consequences of such acts, one can never be the same after commitimg them. This is particularly the case where the problem is seen primarily as one of forsaking an old identity and the specific form of the new is socondary concern. Thus, the various actions of Black people in advocating "Black Power", in using coarse provocative language, and in adopting strange styles of dress can be viewed as acts intended to commit the people doing them irrevocably to forsaking their old identity and looking for a new view. Since education is an attempt to induce identity change, such acts should be interpreted as readiness for education properly presented rather than as shocking evidence of unfitness for education.

9. In order to change his identity, a person must have an idea of what features it is that he would like to obtain and some clear way of obtaining them. Every society therefore, provides models toward which its members can strive.
10. If, however, people are blocked from reaching their identity goals by social pressure or changing circumstances, he must retreat into fantasy or work for a new social order. This is the situation of the Black American today.
11. In order for an identity change to be successful a person must be accepted in his new identity by those around him. If teachers succeed in stimulating students to new efforts based on new self images, the change will not last unless the teacher begins to treat the students appropriately for the new identities. Likewise, if students are attempting to accomplish changes in their own identities through such things as odd clothes, strange language, "Afro" hairdos, or other devices, refusal by the teachers to recognize the new identities of the students can only alienate them.

Chapter XI, "Revitalization Movements."

1. When a group of people becomes dissatisfied because its collective identity or the members' identities no longer gratify, the members become increasingly frustrated.
2. If their social system provides no suitable way for the group to achieve a new collective identity, demoralization, rising crime rates, and other socially delinquent behaviors are likely to increase.
3. This further lowers the self-esteem of the group and the esteem in which others hold its members. This produces further frustration and more abnormal behavior and thus a vicious circle is set up.
4. One of the most common ways through which people get out of this situation is the revitalization movement. (Since such movements are currently going on among Black people in the U.S., it behoves anyone who plans to work with them to understand how revitalization movements work).

5. In the condition of collective frustration described above, someone is likely to get a sudden flash of insight which solves the problem for him. This insight may come through a vision or other supernatural experience. In any case, he will experience a feeling of salvation because the new insight satisfactorily solves his identity problems and makes sense of the world around him.
6. But in order for the individual to be confirmed in his new identity, others must also look upon him in the new light, and to do so they must be converted to a new way of looking at things generally. Further, the individual may see an identity change of the group with which he identifies himself as being required to solve his own identity problems.
7. If many people share the individual's frustration and if his insight offers salvation to them, too, he will win converts, and a revitalization movement will get under way.
8. Such a movement typically goes through 6 stages:
   a. Inspiration - this is the stage where an individual receives the flash of insight which enables him to reorganize his cognitive structure and opens the way to a new identity. It commonly "explains" what the causes of the individuals frustrations were - frequently other groups, a social system, or an oligarchy. It gives a prescription for a new order which will provide for a new identity.
   b. Communication - the individual reveals his insight to others and seeks their cooperation. He stresses 2 motifs: That those who have faith in his message will find comfort and security in its authority, and that by identifying with him and performing the acts he recommends, they will bring the new order into being from which will receive much benefit.
   c. Organization of converts - if the "prophet" finds a receptive audience, a movement is likely to get under way.
   d. Adaptation to resistance - a revitalization movement is a revolutionary movement because it aims to bring about a radical transformation of society and create a situation in which the identity goals of the movement's supporters can be achieved. So, it is bound to raise opposition. This can be either an active attempt to stifle the movement, or it can be simply a refusal to take it seriously. The threat posed by the latter sort of opposition is subtle. Refusal to believe in the validity of the movement means refusal to accept the new identities of its adherents. Since one cannot successfully achieve a new identity unless others are willing to recognize it, such lack of recognition defects the goals of the movement. Those who refuse to take the movement seriously are thus likely to earn the underlying hatred of its adherents. In any case, the movement must find ways to overcome both active and passive resistance if it is to succeed.
   e. Enacting a program - the movement must propose specific measures through which its adherents are to win the coveted new order. In this phase the movement is likely

to welcome firm direction and to place unquestioning faith in those who provide such direction. The apparently irrational and totalitarian character of this phase of the movement is likely to prove repellant to us who are accustomed to valuing rationality and individual independence, but we should not allow our feelings to blind us to what the movement is trying to do.

f. Routinization - if the action phase is successful and the new identity is gratifying to the people, the new pattern of living will become routine. The totalitarian character of the movement will lessen as people become accustomed to their new identities.

9. Strong revitalization movements are going on in Black ghetto communities all over the U.S., especially among young people. Such groups as US in Los Angeles, The Black Panthers in Oakland, The Black Muslims of New York are revitalization movements at least in part.
10. The members of these groups are trying to establish new identities for themselves. They show the rigidity of behavior, religious fervor, intolerance of deviation, and often the violent character of people in the midst of a major identity change.
11. Since they are trying to establish themselves in new identities, they feel a great need for any assistance they can get in learning the skills needed for their new roles. Thus, they are the ghetto's best prospects for education.
12. But the adherents of such "Black Power" revitalization movements are often precisely the people whom teachers have the greatest difficulty communicating with. This is not surprising. The behavior of people caught up in a revitalization movement is likely to be violent, fervent, irrational and intolerant of traditional rules and authority. Teacher's values include rationality, thoughtfulness, orderliness, and obedience to traditional authority and rules. Teachers are likely to be so repelled by what they regard as the excesses of the movement's adherents that they will feel that people who engage in such "immature" behavior are 'not ready' for formal education. Regarding themselves as reasonable people, teachers condemn what they regard as unreasonable behavior, they prefer to work with people who are relatively calm and reasonable. But, it is precisely the people who are going through the trauma of radical identity change and who show it by emotional, irrational, sometimes violent behavior who feel the greatest need for education properly presented.
13. This presents teachers with a dilemma to which Mr. Goodenough offers no real solution. Adherents of "Black Power" revitalization movements are the ghettos' best prospects for education. They are desperately trying to work out new identities for themselves, and in these efforts they need all the assistance they can get. But, their violent rejection of their old identity and with it the whole social structure of which it was a part makes them intolerant and suspicious of authorities within the traditional structure. Teachers are authorities

within the traditional structure par exellence. This position, combined with their own readiness to dismiss as immature or irrational the behavior of these students makes any communication between them and the students almost (not quite) impossible. Bridging this gap requires exceptional strength, understanding, warmth, and tolerance on the teacher's part. And, let there be no mistake, the responsibility for bridging the gap must be largely the teacher's.

Gordon, Edmund W. and Wilkerson, Doxey A. Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1966.

B.1. The school,children and parents all develop as parts of a community.
2. What the school teaches must fit into the cultural pattern of the community or it is likely to be rejected.
3. Conversely, programs designed to change local cultural patterns must include more than formal instruction of children in schools between the hours of 8:30 and 4:00.
4. The problems of schools are therefore symptomatic of broad economic and social and psychological problems.
5. Programs have been and continue to be developed to carry out holistic attempts at "human renewal."
6. Some schools have found a very useful role in organizing and focusing existing services in a local neighborhood community on the theory that the community is an integrated whole where many things relate to education.
7. Other schools have stimulated local folks to organize tutoring programs or field trips for the children.
8. Most such community-school activities have found that a crucial element is the stimulation of the formation of local groups which can decide to participate voluntarily and contribute time, money, or materials.
9. Such groups can grow in competence to the point where they can participate in planning and carrying out a wide variety of curricular and extracurricular programs.

Groennien, Sjoerd. Community Development in Urban Areas," International Reviews of Community Development, 1961.

The feasibility of Urban Community Development.

B.1. Community Development not suited to urban areas because their's is such a vague concept of "Community", Neighborhood has limited meaning in this sense.
2. Projects that have close links within a territorial unit have opportunity for success.
3. Inability to define "community" is a major obstacle to community development in urban areas.

Hacon, R.J. Conflict and human relations training. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965.

A description of human problems related to management and foreman training.

B.1. Conflict and controversy between individuals and groups of individuals may be caused by:
   a. personal antipathies,
   b. role conflicts, e.g.: hierarchial strains between a man and his chief; creation of a new function causing established managers some uncertainty should they not know how to meet new demands and perhaps behave in inappropriate and ineffective ways.

C.1. Understand conflict, learn to live with it, and learn to use it constructively.

2. Trainer must design and run a course that builds on the feelings and current experiences of participants and most important, get them to reflect upon that experience and these notions while in the course.

3. Trainees should have three points in mind:
   a. individual in the course
   b. manager and foreman work group to which the course member belongs
   c. enterprise as a whole and recognize what may benefit one viewpoint may be dysfunctional to another.

Haggstrom, Warren G. "Poverty and Adult Education," Adult Education, Spring, 1965,

B.1. When the poor are involved in a social movement, they develop an intense and far ranging thirst for knowledge.

2. If the social movement is narrower in scope, the desire for knowledge is correspondingly narrowed.

3. If the poor are not caught up in social action at all, only those with enough ongoing activity in their lives will seek knowledge at all.

4. Educational programs in poor communities are normally controlled by people outside the communities whose wants and needs are different from those of the poor.

5. In addition, outside control means that the poor are taught to be docile and law-abiding while the affluent are educated toward self-realization.

6. For the poor to become educated means to leave the society in which they are at home and to go out into a hostile world.

7. A characteristic of communication is that the clarity and accuracy with which a message is communicated depends on the power of the communicator in relation to that of the receiver. A powerful person sends messages with clarity to persons or systems over which power is held (although not necessarily a message of which the sender is conscious), but receives messages in return only indistinctly. With all things being equal, it is much more likely that pupils receive with clarity what the teacher conveys (consciously and unconsciously) than that the teacher receives the pupil's messages with equal clarity.

C.1. Teachers must understand
   a. their motivations and those of the school are different from those of the students and therefore programs which

make sense to them may appear valueless to the students.
b. teachers convey messages to students clearly but not always the messages they think they are conveying.
c. since teachers have power over the students, it is harder to "get their message" than is generally supposed.

Hare, Paul. Handbook of small group research. New York: The Free Press, 1962,

A reference book codifying results of research on social interaction in small face-to-face groups.

A.1. Main elements of a conceptual scheme for the analysis of social interaction are man's biological nature and personality and his roles in groups and the environment.
2. Groups tend to form and conform to norms; when group member finds his behavior deviates from these norms he can: conform, change the norms, remain a deviant, or leave the group.
3. The more intimate interaction, more accurate will be the perception of others.
4. Group leaders tend to be more accurate in their perceptions of other members.
5. Expectations for a given role are met most easily by an individual whose personality most nearly fits the role.
6. In newly formed leaderless groups without a formal structure, members tend to assume the same positions which they hold in other groups of long standing.
7. Factors influencing the degree of intimacy in friendship are: proximity, social characteristics, interests or values, personality.
8. Variables effecting the interaction process are: personality, social characteristics, group size, task, communication network, leadership.
9. Group productivity superior to individual productivity is greater on manual tasks than on intellectual tasks.
10. Compatible groups are more productive than less compatible groups.

D. Contains 158 abstracts related to social interaction and 1385 references.

Havighurst, Robert J., "Chicago's education needs--1966," Educating Urban Population, Marilyn Gittell (ed.), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967,

Problems and solutions to Chicago school system--prototype of all Northern urban school systems.

A.1. Program of schools greatest factor for white middle class consideration.
2. "Four-walls" school philosophy (schools to be run by professionals) not a good approach to urban school problems.
3. "Urban community school" program a better approach--involves parents and citizens in decisions about school policy and practice.

C.1. Provide compensatory programs.
2. Curriculum materials adapted to environment.
3. More active recruitment of quality staff for inner city schools.
4. Integration programs to get Negro students in white schools.
5. Integration must be conducted not to raise quantitative indices of Negro children primarily, but alter chances and quality of opportunities.

Havighurst, Robert J. "Metropolitan development and the educational system," Social Problems: Persistant Challenges. Edward C. McDonagh and Jon E. Simpson, (eds.), New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston,

A discussion of urban ecological patterns and the influence it has on the educational systems.

A.1. Patricia Sexton study of Detroit shows "children from highest income families were farthest (sic) from the center of the city."
a. Schools in lower-income areas had poorer records of achievement, intelligence, and behavior, and a higher dropout rate.
b. Schools in higher-income areas had more pupils from elementary and junior high levels chosen to take part in programs for gifted children; more students from senior high school who were going to college.
2. The status ratio, ratio of number of pupils from middle class families to working class families, is (2 (U+UM) + LM) ÷ (UL+2LL); when status ratio is close to .6, middle class families move.
3. Race index is a ratio of proportion of white to negro children in school. Critical point for middle class families is 1.5, or 60% white.
B.1. If lower class children attend classes when a third or more are from middle class families, they will be stimulated to keep up with the middle class children in school work and will be in position to make friendships with middle class children, thus learning some of the social behavior and social values of them.

Havighurst, Robert J. "Urban development and the educational system," Education In Depressed Areas. A. Harry Passow (ed.). New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963.

A discussion of empirical data that says economic segregation is damaging to the American educational process.

A.1. Lower-class pupils achieve less well than if they were in a mixed- or middle-class school.
2. Lower-class pupils have lower educational aspirations than they would if they were in a mixed- or middle-class school.
B.1. Lower-class school reduces the democratic quality of our society.
2. To act on existence of lower-class school, two policies are

open and are desirable
a. Work to improve them.
b. Work through the school in other ways to reduce economic segregation.

C.1. Enrichment programs at kindergarten-primary level--specially trained teachers; use of social worker or visiting teacher to effect school-home contacts.
2. Enrichment programs in elementary school--give children some of the intellectually stimulating experiences middle class families find common; additional staff.
3. Nursery school programs especially designed for lower-class children.
4. Talent discovery and development programs at junior and senior high school.
5. Work-study programs for maladjusted youth at junior high school.
6. Work to develop urban development projects that effect the all-class community and the mixed-class school.

Heller, Celia S., Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth At the Cross-Roads, Random House: New York. 1967,

Sociological survey discussing environmental conditions, ambitions and obstacles.

A.1. Mexican-American youth begin school at same I.Q. level as Anglo-American children, but fail to keep up.
2. Teachers feel one type curriculum can meet needs of both Mexican-American and Anglo-American youth.
3. Teachers fail to understand Mexican-American children.
4. Counselors do not see I.Q. test as products of peculiar social and cultural circumstances.
5. One study found Mexican-American youth dropping out due to shame over poor wearing apparel and lack of spending money.

B.1. "Line of least resistance" may be common pattern for Mexican-American youth handicapped in some things that would permit them acquiring adequate I.Q. score.
2. Mexican-American children are not prepared at home for school experiences and schools are not prepared or equipped to receive and hold them.

Herriott, Robert E., and St. John, Nancy Hoyt. Social Class and the Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background on Teachers and Principals, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966,

Sociological study focused primarily on affect of environment on key adult personnel in the school.

A.1. Gap exists between teachers and pupils in respect to size of communities of origin at all socio-economic levels (SES). Gap greatest at highest SES level.
2. Teachers generally not from highest or lowest SES.
3. Gap between non-white teachers and non-white pupils greatest at lowest SES.

4. Hypothesis of a greater gap in schools of low than of high SES between pupils and teachers of various social and economic characteristics has not been supported.
5. Is lower teacher morale in schools of low SES.
6. Performance of the principal more closely related to that of teachers in schools of low SES.

Hickerson, Nathaniel. Education For Alienation, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966,

Author seeks to show how schools themselves are responsible in many ways for creating conditions leading to wasted human energy, resources, and talent.

B.1. The child's intellectual abilities are determdned early; this is confirmed by I.Q. testing.
2. The child realizes his position when placed in slow groups.
3. The school is viewed as trying to teach unimportant things and attempting to make him something he doesn't wish to be.
4. Cultural patterns established in classroom completely alien to that of economically deprived child.
5. Ghetto children speak the only real language known and are punished; affluent children speak two languages; they know when to hide improper one, and are rewarded.
6. Attack upon ghetto child's grammar is attack upon his family, friends and important models--results in further alienation from school.
7. Ghetto children drink, use vulgar language, freely make love, and are condemned. The children of affluence do the same, hide it, and present proper image.
8. An attack on a child for fighting tells him his world is wrong.
9. History has clearly shown little meaning in phrase "hard work means success" for deprived child, especially those with non-white color.
10. By clear design, deprived children managing to stick it out in school, finish in weak nonacademic programs.

C.1. Expose teachers to social science data and theory concerning relationships between race and intelligence and effect of culture upon behavior.
2. Alter curriculum to indicate to children democracy is raceless and casteless.
3. Eliminate I.Q. testing as means of determining innate intelligence is children.
4. Examine practices of grouping children according to supposed ability.
5. Bring families of economically deprived into school environment as active participants.
6. Involve representatives of minority and economically deprived peoples in program.
7. Enlist aid of older economically deprived children who have done well in school.
8. Strengthen academic curricula offered to economically deprived children.

Horne, Harold, II. "The city as a teacher", in Taffler, Alvin (ed.) The Schoolhouse in the City, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

C.1. New approach needed to involve parents in child's life as a student.
2. Must create opportunity for effective performance by children of the poor and expectation of it.
3. Must consider new organizational arrangements to change basic character of schools.
4. Establish permanent programs where parents become part of formal school structure as aides and as participants in decision-making process.
5. Provision of specially trained teachers' trained volunteers and paid aides to supplement work of the teacher.
6. Establish space in ghetto schools for community services (cabinet makers, beauty parlors, etc.) with condition that they teach a class in their speciality; creation of a 'living park', that integrates life and learning.

Hunter, David R. The Slums: Challenge and Response, New York, The Free Press, 1965.

An analysis of slum conditions and recommendations for policy directed to non-academic individuals.

C.1. Reading
a. remedial work for those behind
b. books that show real life of the readers
c. work on cognitive skills and reading readiness at pre-kindergarten level.
2. Community school
a. as hub of community life, open day and night, year round
b. offices for public services located in building
c. center for teenagers.
3. School and parents
a. goal is to get parents to feel a part of process
b. hire neighborhood persons to work with teachers and school social workers
c. school personnel function as community workers
d. teachers visit homes of charges
e. PTA-type meetings on more informal basis.
4. Tutoring by more advanced pupils on volunteer from nearby colleges, or adult volunteers.
5. Widening horizons through cultural visits.
6. Team teaching.
7. Ungraded schools for greater flexibility
8. Portion of teacher training done in a slum school
9. Establishment of work-study programs.
10. More men teachers and volunteers to create male images
11. Scholarship programs for juniors and seniors of academic potential.
12. Programs for older dropouts; perhaps outside school area.
13. Separate academic, vocational and commercial high school serving entire community to ensure better pupil mix of

social classes.
C.14. Educational mix of color; favors idea of 'educational pairs'.

Inter-American Development Bank, Community Development Theory and Practice, Mexico City, IADB, 1967.

A statement setting out principles, objectives, methodology etc. of the community development process. A definite rural, overseas orientation.

B.1. Community development has the people as its focal point.
2. One essential feature of community development is the activation of the basic population both as a resource for development and as an objective of development.
3. Another is the integration of programs and efforts in order to produce a dynamic development process.

Jencles, Christopher. "Is the Public School Obsolete?" The Public Interest, Winter, 1966.

The article deals mainly with monetary and bureaucratic concerns of school administration problems.

A.1. More money (approximately twice as much) is spent to educate rich children as is spent to educate poor children.
B.1. Affluent child has unlimited opportunities--poor child has few.
2. Poor know they are poor; they feel deprived.
3. Poverty of poor neighborhoods is reinforced in classroom by attitudes of children.
C.1. Slum children need to have classmates who teach them things that will be cultural and social assets rather than liabilities.
2. Must make city classrooms more racially, economically and socially heterogeneous.

Jung, Charles J., Fox, Robert & Lippitt, Ronald. "An orientation and strategy for working on problems of change in school systems", in Watson, Goodwin (ed.) Change in School Systems, Washington D.C., National Training Laboratories, 1967.

The approach to change of the internal functioning.

A.1. Child's isolation from teacher greatest when he perceives himself as disliked by teacher rather than when he thinks teacher likes him.
2. The lack of congruence between pupil's feelings of classroom behavior and how he thinks the teacher feels, is accompanied by low academic performance.
3. Pupils perceiving themselves as holding low liking status among peers, are lower utilizers of their abilities than pupils with higher perceived status.
4. Pupils holding positive attitudes toward class are higher utilizers of their intelligence than those less attracted to their class.
5. Pupils perceiving parents as supporting school have higher self-esteem and more positive attitudes toward school than

pupils who view less parental support of school.
6. Isolation from teacher results in lower self-esteem, more negative attitudes, lower academic performance.
7. The principal of a school plays an important role in stimulating creative classroom teaching.

C. Model of Good Learning Process:
1. Learning through inquiry;
2. Individualization of learning;
3. Pupil purpose and development of the self-concept;
4. Pupil involvement in curriculum planning;
5. Use of a wide variety of resources;
6. Cross-ability and cross-age helping.

Kagen, Jerome "The choice of models: development," Social Problems: Persistent Challenges, Edward C. McDonagh and Jon E. Simpson (eds.), New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965,

A social-psychological article drawn from empirical phenomena showing factors involved in and resulting from children's choice of models for behavior.

B.1. Acquisition of Power as source of conflict
a. child envies those having power and often identifies with models perceived as holding this desired resource, especially when model is accepting and nurturant.
b. when model is excessively rejecting and hostile, the child labels them negatively and regards social agents that hold power as undesirable models.
c. lack of congruence between idealized model, that rejects social power and recognition that academic excellence results in social power, will lead to inhibition and blocking of future academic striving.

2. Process of Model Building
a. The child identified with a model acts as if events that occur to that model are occurring to him.
b. The child identifies with a model (adult) as in a child's purview; adults possess and command many desirable goal states the child wishes to command.
c. The child assumes the greater the similarity between self and model, the greater the possibility of sharing vicariously in desirable goal states.
d. The more powerful, autonomous, competent, and loved the model, the greater the probability of strong identification.
e. By the time of adolescence, the child adopts a single idealized model who represents many figures.
f. Occurence of behavior represents an attempt to create or increase similarity between the self and the idealized model.

Kerman, Joseph W., "A white teacher in a Negro school," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol, XXXV, No. 2, (Spring, 1966),

B.1. Educational problems of teaching Negro students are the same one teacher faces when teaching in a lower socio-economic neighborhood;

a. many students consider time spent in class a waste of time,
b. long-range value of education not understood; immediate goals sought after.

2. The problem of anti-white resentment making white teachers a prime target for latent hostility is "practically non-existent." It exists to a minor degree when the teacher could be misunderstood or misquoted, especially in discussing minority rights or current event topics.
3. It is not true that Negro teachers can discipline Negro students better that white teachers; as in any school, the ability of the teacher to discipline the class is based on his personality and his knowledge of his students.

C.1. Institute system of frequent and spontaneous praise for student's effort to counteract negative attitudes toward class.
2. Weekly good conduct awards to motivate the "unreachables": those students whose parents work and cannot come in for conferences.
3. Gear lessons to obtain outside or long-range goals. All motivations must be very concrete and geared to student's environment.
4. Be very clear when dealing with controversial topics.
5. When encountering a bigoted white teacher, be firm and suggest he transfer to non-Negro school.

King, Edmund J., Education and Social Change, London: Pergamon Press, 1966,

An article that attempts to interrelate the process of education to social consideration, encompassing.
1. background influences affecting schools;
2. educational institutions undergoing change; and
3. some new problems facing the teacher-learning process.

B.1. While the teacher will always need techniques and expertise, more important is a different kind of awareness, a differently committed attitude.
2. Need to get down to daily concerns of the ordinary person; must know reality.
3. Really professional attitude for modern teacher based upon:
a. scrupulously maintained body of knowledge
b. sense of personal integrity
c. active service to mankind.

Kirp, David L., "The poor, the schools, and equal protection," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Fall, 1968),

The author analyzes the duty of the state to afford equal educational opportunity, based upon recent judicial rulings and other studies. It concludes the state has vastly greater constitutional obligations to its school children than it presently accepts.

A.1. The poor are typically unable to utilize schools as social equalizers in a society that values education highly for its

importance to the individual and the society itself.

2. Do not see high degree of interest in North in pushing for equal facilities
   a. cost would be immense.
   b. if Negro plaintiffs succeed in acquiring more than token integration, problem of resource equalization will resolve itself.
   c. equalizing facilities may not significantly improve education of poor children, white or Black, if they are compelled to go to school in social isolation
      1. quality of teachers shows stronger relationships to pupil achievement
      2. pupil's achievement is strongly related to educational backgrounds and aspirations of the other students in the school.
3. Equality of educational opportunity implies, not merely "equal" schools, but equally effective schools.

C.1. What will benefit poor Negro children most is opportunity of going to school with children better off financially, socially, and culturally.

2. The school is obliged not to ensure everyone has "constitutional right" to perform at same scholastic level, or earn equal share of A grades, but to expect its energies to overcome initial differences that stem from variations in background, in home life or lack of it, and community.

Klopf, Gordon J. and Bowman, Garda W. "Preparation of School personnel to work in an urban setting," Educating An Urban Population, Marilyn Gittell (ed.), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc., 1967,

Requirements of teachers in urban setting with environmentally disadvantaged pupils.

C.1. Must cease to equate urban education with education of disadvantaged; must view the total spectrum of resources in the urban setting and face problems involved realistically.

2. Administrators and teachers as well as children need remediation.

3. The teacher in urban setting must be capable; he must know his own strengths and weaknesses.

4. He must hold the philosophical conviction that man is equal given equal opportunity--and school is a central force in providing equal opportunity.

5. He needs broad foundations in the liberal arts.

6. He needs extensive supervised training in the urban setting in student teaching.

7. In-service training important 2-4 years after basic training.

D. Lists some 18 specific skills needed by teachers working with environmentally disadvantaged students.

Knittel, Robert E. "Comments on community development," Patterns of Community Development. Richard Franklin, (ed.), Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966,

The meaning of Community Development as it related to mankind.

B.1. The road to the "good life" lies within man himself, as something within each individual is nurtured.
2. Community Development starts with materialism where all our roots lie but attempts to evolve a new synthesis of relationships.
3. In its operational stages Community Development is an approach that is based on the belief of the innate creativity of each individual.
4. Community Development represents the integration of the community and all its parts in order to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number.
5. The community appears to be the microcosm wherein we may move experimentally toward the resolution of problems of the macrocosm of society.

Kontos, Peter G. and Murphy, James J. "The philosophy of the Princeton-Trenton institutes," in Teaching Urban Youth. Kontos and Murphy (eds.), New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967,

The philosophy of an institute for preparing teachers of disadvantaged children.

B.1. School is just as hostile and frustrating an environment as their neighborhood for many students.
2. Teacher is a critical agent for breaking vicious cycle of poverty.
3. Teacher training patterns do not emphasize needs of urban youth and new strategies for theri teachers.
4. Many inner city children, beginning life in deprivation, grow into adults who live for present, and feel no control over their lives.

Kozal, Jonathan. "Halls of darkness: in the ghetto schools," Harvard Educational Review. Vol. 37, No. 3 (Summer, 1967),

Reflections of the author on his experiences in a Negro ghetto school; composite characters illustrate the hostility felt and expressed toward Negro children.

B.1. Smiling, gentle older ladies are more dangerous and self-compromising--it is they who make up the backbone of any urban system and are, in the long run, responsible for its perpetuation of styles and attitudes.
2. Reading teacher "is not prejudiced"; Negroes may visit her only if invited; is confident her line could not be detected by children, but on the contrary, her "line was very much in evidence in the classroom and many of the children were aware of it."
3. The assumption of prior guilt very much in evidence in ghetto schools.
4. When you assume child is lying, he is apt to agree with you--it is to his advantage to have punishment reduced. A child who begins by pretending to accept blame may end up really accepting it.

5. Parents often come to school with just and proper reason to place blame and they get it instead.
6. For thousands of children, it is the public schools, not the home life or child's motivation that is the cause of his failure.
7. Aim of many teachers is to "sell" their own values and hopes to the children and become scornful when they are not accepted.
8. The dedicated senior teachers are a sacrosanct entity in American opinion, but sentimental and self-aggrandizing dedication are one thing, education is another.

Levine, Daniel V. "Can in-service training save the inner city schools?" Journal of Secondary Education, Vol. 43, No.1 (January, 1968),

The author suggests an annual program of in-service training constituting several months of full or part-time work for inner-city teaching personnel as the only means to correcting the present problems.

B.1. Johnsonian programs in education have shown money alone, whether in material, building, or staff, cannot make a significant impact on improving education for disadvantaged.
2. Resistance to change is a structural characteristic inhibiting reform in American education.
3. The program is needed to involve community groups and utilize industry and higher educational resources in improving education for disadvantaged youth.
4. However, there is no evidence such proposals as by Jencks (utilization of private corporations, universities, and local community groups) would be successful on a large scale.

C.1. Of highest priority is provision of intensive in-service training programs for teachers; extending for several months, not the usual fun hour workshop.
2. Other measures:
   a. Six months special training for building principal.
   b. New inspection units created at district level.
   c. Initiate comprehensive program to involve parents.
   d. Do more to utilize language of disadvantaged youth in developing their powers of conceptualization and abstraction.

Levine, Daniel V. "Guidelines for action to integrate our schools," Social action. Vol. XXXll, No. 1, September, 1965,

B.1. Child's evaluation of his own capacity is one of most important determining factors for school performance.
2. Integration can liberate capacities of youngsters whose attendance at an all-Negro school serves to remind them that society considers them inferior.
3. Desegregation may improve performance of white students in previously-segregated schools.
4. Grouping by ability only reinforces felt-inferiority of bottom group.

C.1. Remedial classes with superior teachers for disadvantaged students and their immediate transferral to regular classes when acquire minimum necessary skills.

Levine, Daniel V., "Prerequisite for success in working with parents of disadvantaged youth," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Spring, 1966),

The author says parental cooperation is necessary if disadvantaged youth are to participate in special remedial learning activities. To obtain this cooperation, more is required than sincere willingness to provide meaningful participation.

B.1. Disadvantaged youth are likely to be two years below median achievement level by grade 8 and parents attribute this to failure to teach basic skills.

2. Parents of children needing remedial learning activities are likely to be least to demand such departures from traditional school practices.

C.1. Use plain talk with parents.
   a. be honest and admit weakness of a program if it exists.
   b. acknowledge situations parents feel even if they are unable to realize their awareness.

2. Provide meaningful participation of the poor in any program designed to promote their welfare.

3. Must gain trust and confidence of students and parents before any meaningful cooperation can be achieved.

4. People of low socio-economic status, especially Negro, are highly suspicious of larger society.

5. Must overcome distress in a conscious way if our concern and competence in the process of education is to be applied successfully.

Levitt, Morris, "Negro Student Rebellion Against Parental Political Beliefs." Social Forces, March, 1967.

Experiment undertaken at Howard University to determine whether political socialization of students by their parents was as prevalent among black students as among whites. (With reference to Middleton and Snell Study of White Students, 1963).

A.1. Majority of students in Middleton and Putney study liberal. Same in Howard sample.

2. Less students inHarvard study (30%) of them are rebels against parental beliefs than in Middleton and Putney study (40%).

3. Higher tendency among Negro students to be conforming with elders political position (61.7% to 53%). However, Howard students' parents ranked as more liberal than those interviewed by Middleton and Putney which may account for higher degree of conformity.

B.1. Negro students are as likely to rebel against parental beliefs as his peers throughout the nation, regardless of race.

Lippitt, Ronald. "The youth culture, the school system, and the socialization community," Schools In a Changing Society. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (ed.), New York: The Free Press, 1965,

The author summarizes functions of the community and school system as agencies and environments for youth development, and illustrates several courses of action.

B.1. There is a lack of coordination of efforts among youth-development leaders at community level.
2. There is little effort at involvement and in-service training of parents.
3. There is a lack of effort to involve young learners in goals and functions of the educational process.
4. Efficiency values of educational administrators conflict with author's knowledge of effective education for deviant and alienated learners.
5. There is a lack of shared committment and communication among colleagues in improving educational practices.
6. Pupils are permitted educational experiences that produce and nurture increasingly serious alienation from teacher, school, and learning tasks.

C.1. At community level, conduct seminars to permit dialogue among professional leaders.
2. At school level, teachers engage in diagnostic research--collect data in classroom, hold workshops to discuss and interpret data and plan changes. Hold cross-generational training sessions with family units - also teacher-pupil units.
3. At youth level
   a. involve students in diagnosing good and bad points of classroom.
   b. Seminars of teen leaders examine kinds of unhealthy divisions in their peer society;
   c. Examine data on causes of problems between youth and adults.
   d. Use of 6th graders, after attending seminars on "olders helping youngsters" as tutors to help influence motivation to learn and skill-learning in first three grades.

Long, Huey B. "Adult education participation in Brevard County, Florida," Adult Education, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 (Fall, 1967),

Study to determine if assumption is correct that a community with a high proportion of college graduates will have a large number of adults participating in educational activities.

A.1. Brevard County higher rate of adult participation in educational activities than national rate of participation.
2. Average income for Brevard County employees in 1963 was $8,345.
3. 39.4% of male respondent had minimum of college degree.

Mannheim, Karl and Stewart, W.A.C, "Sociology and the classrooms," Social Problems Persistent Challenges, Edward C. McDonagh and Jon E. Simpson, (eds.), New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965,

An article seeking answers to such questions as the structure of a class on the school, organization in terms of interactions of those involved; nature of roles participants assume.

B.1. Three main functions of schools:
   a. present certain data regarded as important,
   b. encourage certain attitudes thought to be helpful in child's learning and his present and future life as a person,
   c. help prepare child for later career.

2. Three indirect functions:
   a. "train" and prepare child for adult life,
   b. subordination prolongs child's economic dependency; adults given the authority so changes made gradually,
   c. education comes to be equated with the institution that provides formal education.

3. Class organization in neat rows with desk at front represents a unit for class teaching. Desk helps indicate sobriety of behavior expected and vows show neatness of planning and habits teacher hopes to inculcate in pupils.

4. Teacher is "given". He did not choose to teach these pupils and they did not choose him as their tutor. He is an institutional leader in the first place. He will have to seek after and deserve the element of personal leadership.

5. The class with its organization, compulsory attendance, etc., is a limit on the freedom of individual spontaneity.

C.1. Considerations a properly worked out sociological view of the classroom must bear in mind:
   a. often submerged, out-of-school life of the children;
   b. differences in children themselves;
   c. general influence of the whole life of the school upon each child;
   d. attitude of the home to education and teachers in general;
   e. esteem of school held by neighborhood people.

Marris, Peter and Rein, Martin Dilemmas of Social Reform. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967,

Report of a study done on Ford Foundation. President's Committee on juvenile delinquency projects--their philosophies; assumptions on poverty; and experiences in community action programs.

A.1. Poverty is self-perpetuating: children of poor start at disadvantage and soon fall behind or drop-out and become marginally employed; robbed of self-respect that comes from earning a decent living, young men bequeath to their children some burden of ignorance, broken homes, and apathy that crippled themselves.

2. Social institutions are concentrating on self-interest and are introverted. They must be encouraged to reform themselves

so the can more effectively serve the people.

B.1. Agencies assumed the answer to self-perpetuating parents and bureaucratic pathology, would be more imaginative, coherent and responsive enabling institutions of assimulation.
2. The attack was directed as a self-protective hardening of middle class American society 'which at once neglected and condemned those it excluded'.
3. The attack only very ambiguously challenged the middle class values in themselves.
4. By stressing apathy and defeatism of the poor, tried to explain need of more imaginative ways to help them, without making criticism of institutions too explicit so as not to alienate them.
5. Cannot deny existence of apathy and stultified bureacracies with routine, but are these the most urgent problems? Which comes first, rehabilitation or an attack on the injustice of denial?

Mayer, Albert. "Some Special Points in Urban Community Development", International Review of Community Development, No. 7, 1961.

B.1. Job of Urban Community Development is to:
a. supply missing services
b. produce and coordinate existing departments as a people's representative.
2. Methods include:
a. action by local neighborhood or wider based groups
b. ad hoc appointed officer coordinating city departments operating directly under municipal head.
3. Economic elements in Community Development:
a. production by people for their own use and possibly marketing
b. establishment of credit unions, economic, trading, and mutual aid.
c. provision of vocational training.
4. Overall role of urban community development is to mobilize human resources in the 'community' and enable them to change as an autonomous, self-directed body.

McAndrew, Gordon. "Educational innovation in North Carolina: A case study". The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXVL, No. 2, Spring 1967.

Report of an experiment to assist 8th grade underachiever boys brought to special school with low teacher-pupil ratio.

A.1. 44% increase grades upon returning home.
2. 53% rated by teachers as improved in class performance.
3. 65% rated as improved in general attitude toward school.
4. 90% considered will graduate from high school.
5. Educators, parents, and students indicate overwhelmingly the school has assisted boys in interest, grades, and visiting teachers.

B.1. Teacher expectation is crucial to student achievement.
2. A good percentage of academicians and educationists would be hard pressed to do in classrooms what they profess others

should do.

C.1. Must combine theory and practice in teacher training programs in such a way that one develops from and gives rise to the other.

2. Regarding disadvantaged students, it is not so much a question, in assisting them, of 'lowering standards', as it is raising students.

Miller, Paul A. "In Anticipation of the Learning Community". Adult Leadership, January 1969.

The relation of education to development of concepts of 'community'.

B.1. The crisis in education is a crisis of efficacy, which can be solved only through humanization of educational institutions.

2. Balancing factors:
   a. interests of education shifting from classroom toward unforeseen mix of family, school and community.
   b. continuous learning, i.e. adult education an important factor in keeping human competency in pace with technical change in society.
   c. education trying to solve problem of fitting specialized solutions to generalized and interdependent problems.

Challenge to education.

C.1. Must recognize erosion of 'community' in:
   a. poor upkeep of neighborhoods
   b. race prejudice and discrimination
   c. imbalance between technology and human institutions.

2. Must see the community as a system of families and services that support them. This should be the learning center for educational organizations and institutions.

Miller, Harry L. (ed.) Education for the Disadvantaged. New York, The Free Press, 1967.

An over-all approach to viewing current attitudes, research and controversies in educating culturally deprived children.

A.1. Using the label 'cultural deprivation' is coming under heavy attack as it does not focus on the positive attributes of children from multi-problem families.

2. Families can do more in changing attitudes than schools and points to the crucial importance of the school's work with parents.

3. John Hopkins Test is creating interest in intelligence testing.

4. The verbal aptitude test is a poor indicator for predicting achievement in a college of minority-group students; high school grade-point average is better.

5. Pre-school programs are the only effort to prepare child for inadequate school program; tend to distract attention from school itself and changes it must undergo.

6. Most programs for disadvantaged are preparing children to move into middle class world.

7. Academically oriented teacher training programs, running the

entire course in a college are hardly adequate to prepare for programs with disadvantaged children.

Miller, S.M. "Dropouts: A political problem". In McLendon, Jonathon C. (ed.) Social Foundations of Education: Current Readings from the Behavioral Sciences, New York, MacMillan Company, 1966.

An article which says the whole society and economy are involved in the problem of dropouts.

B.1. Four types of low income dropouts:
   a. school-inadequate--low intellectual or disturbing emotional functioning. Studies show the intellectual factor may not be important factor.
   b. school-rejecting--may be as much school encouraging them to leave as it is desire to get away.
   c. school-perplexed--studies show high degree of interest in education among low income but becomes perplexed as school does not speak to needs.
   d. school-irrelevant--economic benefits of graduates over non-graduates within same social class not great.
2. First two categories are not so large, the third is growing; the fourth comprises the bulk.
3. By developing a more rational labor market and sorting device for employment, and having great economic growth, the dropout problem could be eliminated.
4. A great educational surge is likely to lead to unrest, unemployment, underemployment. If all go on to graduate from high school and many to college, there would not be sufficient appropriate jobs.

Milligan, Frank S. "Community Development in the Urban Neighborhood". International Review of Community Development, No. 5, 1960.

How to develop people's social and political skills and enable them to participate more in local decision-making.

B.1. Community Associations formed to provide medium for social interchange.
2. Community Association is a forum of interest-type organization.
3. Social service specialists and political representatives and leaders are brought into the forum as participants and to advise the community on various alternative courses of action.
4. Community Associations encourage the political education of members regarding their own concept of community, rather than seeking direct representation on their local government council.

Moynihan, Daniel P. "What is Community Action?" The Public Interest, Winter, 1966.

B.1. Four concepts of community action.
   a. Bureau of the Budget concept of Community Action, i.e. efficiency.
   b. Alinsky concept--i.e. induce conflict; 'rub raw the sores of discontent'.

c. Peace Corps Concepts; i.e. the provision of services with an expected 'fall out' of enhanced local capacities for self-help.
d. Task force concept, i.e. where guiding principle is political effectiveness. Effort to recreate urban 'ethnic' political machines.

2. Pluralism of concepts of community action has caused confusion over what a community action program is supposed to represent.

Newmann, Fred M. and Oliver, Donald W. "Education and Community". Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 37, No. 1, Winter 1967.

An examination of problems in the American educational approach, 'reforms' that only exacerbate the problems, and an alternative model.

B.1. One view of American civilization is the 'missing community'. The theme is of industrialization and urbanization, i.e. modern society leads to fragmentation, zeal for change, ideological and aesthetic bankruptcy, depersonalization, and sense of powerlessness.
2. Other view is the 'great society'; accelerated technological development freeing man to solve human problems. Problem solution does not involve changes in institutional structions of society at large.
3. The great society orientation is more sensitive to superficial symptoms than fundamental problems.
4. Community is 'missing' in the sense we have not yet devised a conception of community (i.e., relationships) that deals with particular challenges of the community.
5. Three deficiencies of modern education, accepted by the great society view;
   a. education as formal schooling, (education as preparation, cut off from community; teaching a specialized occupation).
   b. education as public monopoly, (cultural differences viewed as deficiencies).
   c. education is modelled after models and motivated by motivation of corporate industry and bureaucratic civil service.
6. Even the most modern of reforms continue to isolate youth from adults and school from community and fail to include students in significant community decisions.
7. Learning is pursued in 3 contexts:
   a. school--learning is problem centered, exciting, reorganizing basic content to make it lead toward more powerful insights and understandings.
   b. Laboratory - Studio - Work Context - for all ages; may be in factories, hospitals, political party headquarters, etc.; the objective is problem solving and problem completion.
   c. Community Seminar Context - students and adults meet in reflective exploration of community issues and ultimate

meanings in human experience.
8. Education is systematic instruction, action, and reflection.

Ornstein, Allan C. "Program revision for culturally disadvantaged children," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXV, No. 1 (Winter, 1966),

15 recommendations to improve the education program for culturally deprived children.

B.1. The "deprived" know they are failures and rejects of society.
   a. background of such children dooms them to failure in "middle-class" schools,
   b. one-third of three million children in 14 largest cities fit this category.

C.1. Increase time spent in school and strengthen staff with college and high school tutors.
2. Reduce class size to maximum of 20; use team approach for disrupted, malfunctioning pupils.
3. Establish pre-school program with professional staff.
4. Get new text books that focus upon role of minority groups in history and culture.
5. Implement improved programs for teacher training; recruit more males and minority group teachers.
6. Recruit principals who understand unique problems of this environment.
7. Implement Higher Horizons programs--minority group and community guest speakers; field trips in community on Saturdays.
8. Comprehensive reading programs at every level.
9. Comprehensive guidence and councilling programs.
10. Special orientation sessions for mid-year school and class transfers.
11. Talent discovery programs and financial aids for college-qualified students.
12. Individualized testing and scheduling of curriculum suitable to every child's needs, aptitudes and interests.
13. Stress vocational education in both junior and senior high school.
14. Evening adult education programs.
15. Enlist community action programs; foster parent participation; use local community media to increase involvement.

Ornstein, Allan C. "Techniques and fundamentals for teaching the disadvantaged," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2 (Spring, 1967),

The author looks at the problems of
1. discipline and classroom management, and
2. motivation and student achievement; and offers some recommendations.

B.1. Good discipline essential to good teaching in many ghetto areas.
2. Disadvantaged are not naturally bad--they wish to learn, but as with any children, will seek to test teacher's authority.

3. Good class-room management essential to ghetto schools, but children must understand the reasons for the rules and routine.

C.1. Train students to enter room in orderly fashion.
2. Keep a clean attractive room.
3. Get everyone's attention prior to starting lesson.
4. Be consistent with class routine.
5. Learn to know students early in term.
6. Hold students accountable.
7. Speak softly but distinctly.
8. Be clear with instructions.
9. Aim for full class participation.
10. Be aware of undercurrents of behavior.
11. Keep pupils in seats.
12. Depend on interest to keep order.
13. Be friendly but maintain proper distance.
14. Be consistent with discipline.
15. Be flexible.
16. Work with individual offender.
17. When possible, handle disciplinary cases yourself.
18. Do Not threaten.
19. Never make offence too personal; never allow audience situations.
20. Be certain to dismiss class.
21. Children will care if they feel teacher cares.
22. Supplement texts with intercultural lessons.
23. Teacher's enthusiasm for subject and pupils itself is a motivating force.
24. Begin period with short but educational exercises, as reading drill or lesson.
25. Due to short attention span of pupils, must continuously change activities and vary presentation of lesson.
26. Learning should be related to child's experience and past learning.
27. Learning through games has appeal for children.
28. Teacher never ignores his pupils.
29. With a slow class, similarities, not differences, should be stressed.

Passett, Barry, A. and Barker, Glen M. "The poor bring adult education to the ghetto," Adult Leadership, Vol. 16, No. 9 (March, 1968),

A report of a demonstration project aimed at involving adults in the community educational process, through the recruiting and training of aides to conduct adult education classes.

A. Type of tasks completed by aides
1. Survey low-income neighborhood to determine interests.
2. Survey local community agencies and organizations.
3. Establish an adult education course--based upon interest and suitable time.
4. Arrange for classroom facility.
5. Arrange for instructor.

6. Recruit students.
7. Evaluate course.

B.1. Non-professionals can be trained to do many tasks on a limited basis conducted now by professionals.
2. Success of courses directly related to effectiveness of survey.
3. Use of nonschool facilities is successful motivation. Public school is often viewed as place of past failures.

Paulson, Beldon "Research, training, and action in Milwaukee's inner core: a case study about process," Adult Leadership, Vol. 15, No. 10, (April, 1967),

Case study of a program focussed upon educational needs of junior and senior high school age youth and parents in downtown Milwaukee.

C.1. Poor communication between people and persons, agencies, and institutions in authority, felt to be most fundamental problem.
2. Significant change possible only through broad alliance of representative interests.
3. Projects must produce short term, tangible benefits for participants.
4. Organizational framework should be held to a bare minimum.
5. Nucleus of motivated volunteers develop; least educated and highest income-professionals tended to drop out. Nucleus were long term residents capable of communication on all levels.
6. Summer reading project indicates most essential component was the community worker serving as teacher aide; were volunteers who had made initial contacts and conducted comprehensive survey.
7. Development of "block workers," voluntary persons bridging the gap between residents and agencies leads to numerous projects.
8. Block workers and University cooperate in establishing teacher training seminars during summer in order to begin breaking down alienation of pupils and parents from school.

Pearce, Frank C. "Basic education teachers: seven needed qualities," Adult Leadership, Vol. 16, No. 7 (January 1968),

Reporting results of an empirical study undertaken to determine essential qualities for teachers of adults "alienated from society."

C.1. Understanding - based upon mutual respect; involves active involvement in the students' problems, not sympathy; understanding is dependent on an optimistic learning climate project by teacher.
2. Flexibility - be always prepared to take advantage of events having practical meaning to the student; teacher should be able to perform in an atmosphere where the unexpected is part of daily routine.

3. Patience - teacher needs capacity for repetition; needs a fairly even temperament.
4. Practicality - teacher's experiences should have wide variety to furnish him with as broad a frame of reference as possible; lessons more effective when student perceives immediate usefulness.
5. Humor - setting demands teachers who can see humor in events, words, and even himself; requires balance as some issues must be handled with gravity and some with levity.
6. Creativity - teacher must be one who enjoys a challenge; must have wide range of interests and ideas and must be willing to take a chance.
7. Preparation - students want a teacher well founded in his field.
8. It is unlikely one teacher can possess all characteristics needed; balance in staff is possible.
9. Attitude stems from a single goal--ability to help the student to develop and maintain self-confidence.
10. There is little difference in characteristics needed by basic adult education teachers and teachers on other levels.

Poston, Richard Waverly "Community action: the great need," Community Organization In Action, Ernest B. Harper and Arthur Dunham, (eds.), New York: Association Press, 1963,

The author says democracy as a dynamic force must be rekindled in the local community through integration of interests and co-operative efforts.

B.1. America has vast amounts of knowledge and much technology, yet human problems and misery continue to increase.
2. The natural community where human values flourished and which was conducive to democratic processes has almost gone.
3. No single factor is more important to the future of America and the world at large than is local community.
4. America is suffering from over specialization.
5. If democracy is to survive, these function, compartments, areas, and specializations must be brought together into one integrated whole in a community setting.
6. Development of community life in modern America will rewaken and revitalize democratic processes.

Pressman, Harvey. "Designing compensatory programs: some current programs," Teaching Urban Youth. Peter G. Kontos and James J. Murphy, (eds.). New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967,

An article that defines the "Princeton Game," an exercise to get teachers-in-training into the community in which he teaches.

B.1. Federal and Ford Foundation type "compensatory" programs are simply the latest example of urban public school's inability to cope with the problems of educating disadvantaged youth.
2. Such programs usually talk in terms of "changing the children before we can teach them."

3. There is considerable evidence that schools must adjust to the children.
4. Some of present inadequacies in current "compensatory" programs
   a, Inadequate objectives--emphasis on remediation.
   b. Emphasis on quantity--seek to give more of same "(wrong)" program.
   c. Too little money spent--federal funds replace, not supplement local funds.
   d. Poor educational strategy--frequently neglect student who shows progress.
   e. Personnel problems--teachers with negative attitudes getting jobs.

C. Recommendations--the Princeton Game.
Teachers must obtain answers to questions on average rents in area, condition of apartments, attitudes of residents, cost of ford staples and comparison to our stores. out - stadding physical problems in areas and progress being made to overcome them, and so on.

Puder, Wm. H. and Hand, S.E. "Personality factors which may interfere with the learning of basic education students," Adult Education, Vol. XVIII. No. 2 (Winter, 1968),

Review of literature concerned with personality factors obstructing learning in deprived pupils.

A.1. Significant positive correlation between self-concept and perceived evaluations that significant others hold of the student.
2. People learn only because they have found learning has personal value for them.
3. Rokeach finds "closed mind" persists in the form of idealogical dogmatism.
4. Closed mind is a system of cognitive defenses against pain of anxiety.
5. Awareness of family conflict, taken into schools, leads to chronic interference with formal thought processes because there is a general and specific relationship between family setting and the child's cognitive processes.
6. Frumkin's studies show persons of lower-socio-economic status more dogmatic than high-status persons.
7. Black's studies show a tendency for culturally disadvantaged to "learn through physical, concrete tasks."
8. Ways dogmatism interferes with learning:
   a. such persons feel alienated and this results in the increased tendency to minimize and defame school values to act in passive and yielding manner to the on-rush of life.
   b. tendency to avoid a feared stimulus is stronger the closer an individual is to it.
   c. tendency to feel hostility and anxiety toward perceived authority.
   d. such persons frequently exhibit "withdraw" tendencies.
   e. persons afraid tend to judge the stimulus person as fearful and instruction from persons in authority designed

to inhibit their feelings tend to enhance this effect.
f. an illiterate person is convinced he cannot read.

Rabinow, Mildred and Muhlfeld, Elizabeth "Parents as teachers and learners in anEast Harlem parent cooperative," Vol. 44, No. 9 (May, 1968,

The authors show the role of "parent-coordinators and assistant teachers in bridging the gap between school staff and parents.

A.1. When a three year-old withdraws in nursery school because father prevents him from taking teddy bear to school (too childish), parent-coordinator was told of problem, and since she was a neighbor, was able to convince father to change his mind.
2. White, middle class teacher strongly objects to 5 year-old boy drinking from bottle. Teacher-assistant a community resident is able to show Puerto Rican environment shows no desire to instill sense of independence in children; is more family-centered than middle-class American; thus teachers saved from fundamental misconception through familiarity of assistant teacher with neighborhood customs.

Rainwater, Lee, "Neighborhood action and lower-class life styles," Neighborhood Organization For Community Action, John B. Turner (ed.), New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1968,

An examination of contempory community action philosophies in light of lower class life styles.

B.1. Two hard facts of life experienced by lower class are deprivation and exclusion.
2. Ways of coping with this life are four-fold
a. expressive life style--is means of gaining acceptance.
b. violent strategy--is not popular among lower class people.
c. depressive strategy--goals meet bear necessities for survival.
d. mobility strategy--emulation of middle class.
3. Lower class people like most Americans, see best means for getting ahead as individualistic, not in organizing with others.
4. They can assume, unless they feel trapped by low income, unemployment, or discrimination, they will not be available for neighborhood organization.
5. Reasons why lower class appear apathetic to outsiders:
a. Do not see their life as all "bad" as the outsider does.
b. Do not view organization as a potential solution to their problems.
c. Feel they have too many other pressing problems to care for.

C.1. For Negro and other minority groups, "strategy of political power" where strategy is to build strong independent units within one of the traditional parties, can make a difference in achieving a decent life for people who have lived deprived and exclusive lives.

Ravitz, Mel. "The role of the school in the urban setting," Education In Depressed Areas. A. Harry Passow, (ed.), New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963,

A discussion of the role of education in cultural assimilation in the community.

B.1. Of three basic instruments of successful assimilation, education, assistance, and involvement, the greatest is education.
2. Teacher should not rely on I.Q. scores, but assume highest potential for each child. The real damage of the I.Q. test is its influence on the mind of the teacher.
3. The environment, such as in depressed areas, produces conditions children cannot ignore sufficiently to concentrate on what to them are other-wordly matters.
4. Image of the school is an image dominated by women.
5. Usual textboods are unreal.
6. Key figure in entire educational process may be the teacher.

C.1. School should become a community-oriented facility with a well trained staff.
2. Should send only the best teachers to deprived areas and increase present numbers.
3. Teachers must penetrate home world of child and work more with family problems.
4. Community organization person should be assigned to area by school.
5. Assignment of more male teachers, counselors, and principles.
6. Rewrite textbooks to show use of minority-group members.
7. Trips should be planned to broaden horizons of children.
8. Free summer school.
9. New avenues explored to reduce dropout rates.
10. Assignment of teachers of racial, social-class, or cultural-religion prejudice.
11. Revamp teacher-training programs for more relevancy to depressed areas.

Reissman, Frank. "The culturally deprived child: a new view," Social Foundations of Education: Current Readings from the Behavioral Sciences. Jonathon C. McLendon, (ed.), New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966,

An article illustrating to teachers of "culturally deprived" children the value of building educational programs on certain positive features of low-income groups.

B.1. Slowness does not mean stupidity:
a. may mean pupil is extremely careful, meticulous or cautious.
b. disadvantaged pupil generally a physical learner and as such is generally slower.
c. may be slow because he learns in one-track way.
d. is no reason to assume that there are not many slow gifted children.
2. Hidden verbal ability common to disadvantaged children:

a. however, highly articulate out of school.
b. often highly articulate in role playing situations.
c. are deficient in formal language, which is incorrectly taken to mean they are characteristically non-verbal.

3. Such pupils and their parents hold high regard for education, but low regard for the school. This is due to recognition of being second class citizens in schools.

C.1. Work to overcome present lack of school know-how.
a. teach how to get a job, appearance at interview, filling out forms, etc.
b. teach how to listen by using visual and kinesthetic signals.

2. Must seek to have them overcome present anti-intellectual attitude.
3. Devise new ways to search for excellence among slow learners.
4. Techniques as role playing and audio-visual aids useful in eliciting special cognitive style and creative potential of deprived children.

Reissman, Frank, "The 'Helper' Theory Principle," Community Action Against Poverty. Brager et.al., (eds.), New Haven: College and University Press, 1967,

Survey of studies indicates high degree of self-help through helping others, or "self-persuasion through persuading others". Draws upon studies by B.T. King and I.L. Janis, in Human Relations (1965) p. 177 and Gussie Albert Schneider, unpublished manuscript, (1964).

B.1. Use of low-income as helpers results in less role distance from low-income client.
2. Helper principle may be beneficial to both helper and helped.
3. School performance and conceptualization of careers sharpened for high-school students when used as tutors.
4. Some bright, fast youngsters may develop intellectually, not by being challenged by someone ahead of them but by helping somebody behind them by being put into the tutor-help role.
5. The technique works best subconsciously. Some intrinsic value is lost when "helper" realizes he is placed in role to be helped.

C.1. More explicit use of this principle in an organized manner.

Rempson, Joe R. "School-parent programs in depressed urban neighborhoods," in Robert A. Dentler, et.al. (eds.), The Urban R's. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

C.1. The non-participation of low-income parents in school-parent activities has been attributed to a variety of causes all of which are related to low SES. Furthermore, it has been observed that persons of low SES participate in voluntary groups less than persons of high SES generally.
2. Therefore, a program for enlisting parents' cooperation should concentrate on the 3 basic determinants of social class, education, occupation, and income. Until this is done, it is doubtful that school-parent programs can alter the home

environment much.
3. In contacting and working with parents, some guidelenes are:
   a. The school must take the initiative in making contact.
   b. The school cannot meet all the needs of parents and so should seek cooperation from other agencies.
   c. Face-to-face contact is the most effective kind in obtaining cooperation.
   d. Indigenous people can notify and contact each other.
   e. In obtaining cooperation
      1. parents should get an opportunity to contribute as much as they can.
      2. local leaders and outstanding members of parents' ethnic group(s) should be called upon as resources.
      3. results of joint school-parent activities should be shared with parents.
      4. the school should be a community school.
      5. parents should take part in planning as well as carrying out activities.
      6. status differences between parents and teachers should be minimized.

Sanders, Irwin T., The Community: An Introduction to a Social System, New York: The Roland Press Company, 1966.

Sociological Survey given to an introduction of sociological concepts of community life.

B.1. "Slum" children difficult to teach on three counts in the eyes of teachers.
   a. problem of teaching--effecting some change.
   b. problem of discipline--maintaining order.
   c. problem of moral acceptability--effecting change in traits considered immoral or revolting.
2. Teachers often misunderstand and reject lower class children, causing resentment and rebellion and resulting in them more likely dropping out earlier than other children.
3. The lower class child fails to develop an orientation that would permit them to submit to school discipline.
4. Lower class parents do not help child, provide encouragement and praise that give him incentive for school accomplishment.
5. The lower class child may lack the verbal facility a competitive advantage requires and is less familiar with kinds of situations treated on standard intelligence tests.
6. Community Development operates on the basis of "principles", based on the valid assumption one does not transfer actual experiences from one area to another but rather the principles that experience reinforced or demonstrated.
7. Principles of Community Development--From United Nations:
   a. activities based on people's expressed needs.
   b. balanced development through concerted action and multi-purpose programs.
   c. changed attitudes in people as important as material accomplishments.
   d. aims at increased participation of people in community affairs.

e. local leadership identification and training.
f. greater involvement of women and youth.
g. government assistance.
h. utilization of non-government agencies.

Schensul, Stephen L., Anthony, J. & Pelto, Pertti J., "The Twilight Zone of Poverty: A New Perspective on an Economically Depressed Area." Human Organization, Spring, 1968.

A study of marginal poverty as represented on affluent-poverty continuum. Study done in 5 countries in north central Minnesota.

A.1. Household cash incomes far below state and nation median.
a. Causes: high unemployment; out migration of young people; little in-migration; population is older; thus less active economically.
2. Twilight zone of poverty in these 5 countries; i.e. inhabitants experience relative deprivation compared to affluent sectors of society.
B.1. Two major categorizations of poverty suggested.
a. Poverty/non-poverty not dichotomous entities but are, rather, extremes of complex continuum of life situations.
b. Categorizations must take into account perceptions of residents concerning their socio-economic situation.

Schrag, Peter. "Saving the City," Voices In The Classroom. Boston: Beacon Press, 1965,

Survey by a journalist on approaches used in Du Sable High School, a Chicago ghetto school, and other Chicago ghetto schools.

C.1. As Professor Havighurst says, the school must become one of the prime agencies for preserving and stabilizing the neighborhood.
2. "Helen", the history teacher has students caring about history because she has made it something of a personal affair, almost a form of hipsterism with squares being those who don't know what Richelieu was up to.
3. To teach grammar, Neubaurer, the English teacher uses jive talk, making the students compile a dictionary; to teach literature, uses Raisin In the Sun (which is acted out in class).
4. Systems-community and school-sometimes function so as to embarrass or intimidate conscientious parents.
5. The fact is many Negro parents fail to show even most minimal interest in their children's education. To them, teacher and principal are just 2 more agents of a society incomprehensible at best and actually hostile at worst.
6. As Havighurst says, the child's whole life, family, and home are now involved in education and must be considered.
7. So far, institutions or personnel are not available to implement the new philosophy.

Seeman, Melvin. "On the meaning of alienation", in McDonagh, Edward C. & Simpson, Jon E. Social Problems: Persistent Challenges, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston,

The author proposes a 'workable view' of the concept of alienation treated from the standpoint of the actor.

B.1. Powerlessness--the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements he seeks. Term refers to the sensed ability to control outcome.
2. Meaninglessness--refers to individual's sense of understanding the events he is engaged in; characterized by low expectancy that satisfactory predictions of future outcomes of behavior can be made.
3. Normlessness-characterized by high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve goals.
4. Isolation--characterized by assignment of low reward value to goals or beliefs typically highly valued in the given society.
5. Self-Estrangement--characterized by high degree of dependence on future reward for a given behavior; upon rewards that lie outside the activity.

Sehnert, Frank H. "Action for better education" in Franklin, Richard B. (ed.) Patterns of Community Development, Washington D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1966.

A case study tracing the successful action of a county in developing an educational program and lends support to the thesis "Community Development helps the learner make the connection between his learning and its application directly..."

C.1. Barriers in the community to be overcome:
a. general feeling of apathy, frustration, and discouragement.
b. much dissension, suspicion, jealousy, and lack of respect for civic leaders attempting to make change.
c. difficulty in arousing citizen interest to take constructive steps to solve problems.
2. How action was taken:
a. conducted series of training sessions for elected officials and committee leaders. Persons write on a slip of paper problems they feel significant, suggested solutions; discussion
b. training sessions for community leaders; for student council in high school.
c. Advantages of sessions:
1) leaders saw they were not alone in perceiving problems
2) gave opportunity to share ideas on problems
3) helped identify areas that interested most people.
d. hold county meetings--take meetings to people
e. Advisory Council joined Education Committee to work for sound program.
3. Role of Education Committee:
a. draw up fact sheet listing questions most commonly asked.
b. hold meetings in schools or in local country schools

where people usually meet.
c. keep school issue on as objective a plane as possible.

Shepard, Samuel, Jr. "The disadvantaged child" in Toffler, Alvin (ed.) The Schoolhouse in the City, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

An article describing the child and characteristics of staff needed to teach him.

B.1. The disadvantaged child possesses a decidedly negative self-image.
2. If a boy, he sees school as woman's world, not suited to a self-respecting boy.
3. He gains status by displeasing teacher.
4. The motivational principle applies to him, the same as for anyone.
5. A low score on intelligence test is not indicative of low intellectual capacity.

C.1. Solve own problems of attitudes--see child as having potential.
2. Help staff gain more positive perspective and change their teaching strategies.
3. Plan curriculum with consideration for experience opportunities for child.
4. More important than changing of what and how an urban school teaches, is need for change of attitudes, hopes, and inter-personal skills of its teachers and administrators.

Shields, James J. Jr. Education in Community Development, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

The author examines specifically the role of education in programs sponsored by AID in Community Development; i.e. how education is used in community development.

B.1. Fundamentally, education is a process; schools are accidental and expendable institutions where the processes take place.
2. Emphasis of community development is upon the people themselves; the goal is to change people.
3. Alteration or acquisition of new attitudes, knowledge, and skills, another way to define objective.
4. Because community development has values, concepts and principles distinct from technical programs, administrative personnel,should participate in special seminars, etc., and take field trips to local programs.
5. There is a need for local level workers to bridge the gap between the citizenry and professional-technical specialists.
6. Roles of local level workers are: 'first-aid' extension worker and agent of change.

Sommer, Robert. "Classroom Ecology", Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1967.

An experiment to determine if classroom participation is related to seating arrangement in the classroom.

A.1. Seminar style of arrangement: found that students directly opposite instructor participated more than students at sides.
2. a. Classrooms within straight rows: students in front participated more than students in rear.
b. Students in center of each row participated more than students at sides.
3. Conclusion that classroom arrangement was related to seating arrangement. Results bear out expressive contact hypothesis relating direct visual contact to increased interaction.

Stabler, George M. "New needs and new horizons," Patterns of Community Development. Richard Franklin, (ed.), Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1966,

Discussion of social processes operative in urban development programs, framed for future social-action research.

B.1. No one model of "community" is adequate to deal with the complexities of a change effort as complex as urban renewal and the elimination of slums.
2. Ideological innovation is rarely adequate by itself as a means to problem solution.
3. Development groups have difficulty in establishing a legitimate and continuing place in the community. Some hypotheses for this include:
a. competition from other attractions and interests.
b. newly recognized leaders move on to responsible positions elsewhere.
c. increased awareness of value conflicts as more difficult problems encountered.
4. Participating leaders are: persons active in other organizations; see development projects as personally rewarding and avenue for upward mobility; have relatively wide social group connections; have occupations granting relative freedom of time; are not closely identified with "status quo" elite; have had more educational and economic opportunity than other community members.
5. Middle-class, university-trained consultants require special training and experience before they can effectively communicate information to less well-educated members of the lower class.
6. Local initiative for solution of many urban American problems is successful to the extent that local leadership involves state and federal resources, while subordinating local standards in achieving local improvement goals.
7. Some outcomes of Community Development:
a. increasing citizen pride in community and hope for its future.
b. improvement in discussion skill, fact-finding ability, handling controversy.
c. increasing skill in meeting strangers and handling mass publicity.

d. growth in personal courage.
e. increasing belief that personal opinions and action effect civic decisions.
f. developing ability to anticipate effects of alternative projects on groups other than those belonged to.

Stalley, Marshall. "The community as an extension of the classroom," Teaching Urban Youth. Peter G. Kontos and James J. Murphy, (eds.), New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967,

An article encouraging the use of the community as a resource to the school.

B.1. Students do not learn unless they are there physically and have a mind and a so-called "attitude" conducive to learning.
2. Teacher has two roles:
a. substantive teaching role
b. personal or helping role of relating to student and endeavoring to do what is necessary directly or indirectly to facilitate learning process.
C.1. School system must look to
a. students;
b. teachers;
c. the community.
B.3. "Functionlessness" characterizes low-income and educational deprived families.
2. Most creative role for school system may be to help people help themselves and help them to make use of existing resources or seek out new ones.
3. Urban school systems, in addition to traditional educational role, must assume role of relating urban poor to their environment.

Steubing, Carl M. "Some Role Conflicts as Seen by a High School Teacher." Human Organization, Spring, 1968.

The conflicts faced by a high school teacher.

B.1. High school teachers seek self-esteem through exaggerated reliance upon performance of their students.
a. Classify "good" and "bad" students according to their own, rather than the student's needs.
b. The teacher, in turn, is classified "good" or "bad" according to needs of the administrator.
2. Other sources of conflict:
a. Division between extracurricular and academic activities; i.e. teachers jealous of student's time.
b. Social ranking of school subjects; i.e. prestige attached to those fields thought of as producing high income. Not enough emphasis on humanities.
C.1. General need for more innovation in teaching.
2. Teachers should create their own prestige scales, both of students' performances and of course work.

Strom, Robert D. Teaching in the Slum. Columbia, Charles E. Merrill Books, 1965.

Problems of inner city pupils and ways schools can act on them.

B.1. High cost of living forces 'slum' families to double up, resulting in extended families.
2. Crowded living conditions result in lack of self-sufficiency, destruction of illusions, mental strain, and the inability to make decisions.
3. Evidence for inadequate patterns of communication between mother and child in the home that can result in I.Q. level of 10 points below average.
4. School efforts frequently neutralized by environment of the home.
5. Teacher for slum school needs better training--i.e. urban sociology.

C.1. Surrogate function--pre-school programs--are necessary in inner city school programs.
2. Special 'immigrant' program to meet needs of transfer children.
3. Special efforts by teachers to improve school-home relations.
4. Encourage developing dignity and competence of parents, made possible through the schools, be extended to development of the community.
5. Counselling of new personnel by experienced teachers in means of classroom discipline.
6. In-service training programs geared to meet various needs of teachers.

Sullivan, Leon H. "Self-help and motivation for the underprivileged" Adult Leadership, Vol. 16, No. 8, February 1968.

Case study of "Opportunities Industrialization Center", a black self-help inspired vocational center for drop-outs and adults.

B.1. 'Feeder program' necessary before individual ready for school --teach basis in reading, writing, and math. Negro history, pride in color, respect for themselves; teaches them 'how to put their heads up and shoulders back'.
2. One-half of the program, 'and perhaps most important', is the training of attitudes; teaches individuals they are an investment to America, that they must be assets to prove to many that most of them are not human liabilities.

Warren, Roland, "Community action and community development", The Community in America, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1963.

B.1. Community development concerned with horizontal patterns of community as is community action.
2. Emphasis of community development on strengthening horizontal patterns, itself, rather than in achieving ad hoc objectives.
3. Community development is distinguished by its emphasis on the long run.
4. Community development represents an attempt deliberately to 'administer a program of strengthening the horizontal patterns'.

5. Community development, thought of this way, is distinguishable as a process.
   a. change from decision making by a few elite for people to where people themselves make the decisions.
   b. change from state of minimum to maximum participation and cooperation.
6. For Irwin-Sanders community organization represents a method of action.

Warren, Roland L. "Toward a reformulation of community theory", Perspectives on the American Community, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1966.

The author calls for a new approach to understanding the meaning of 'community'.

B.1. Urban community is not dying, but is changing structure and function.
2. There is increased emphasis on vertical coordination of community (getting people to cooperate with the new school program for example) in making horizontal coordination more difficult.
3. A new complementary role is developing, that of the horizontally oriented permissive community organizer, the non-sepcialist, the 'process man'.
4. His function is tension-reducing; his emphasis is on what happens to interacting people and groups in the community.
5. There are roles in the community both for the task oriented man and the process oriented man.

Wilcox, Preston R. "The community-centered school" in Toffler, Alvin (ed.) The Schoolhouse in the City, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

Describes the functions of the school.

C.1. Permit students to sit where they wish; no alphabetical seating system.
2. Plan for group presentations with individual responsibility for parts of total assignment to be decided upon by group members.
3. Encourage students to assist each other with homework assignments; provide class time for such assignments.
4. Encourage discussions among students with teacher as an observer and learner.

Wilson, Alan B. "Social stratification and academic achievement" in Passow, A. Harry (ed.) Schools in Depressed Areas, New York, Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1967.

Survey on the effect of social stratification and segregation on academic attainment in elementary schools.

A.1. Socio-economic background does affect child's achievement.
2. In a school with four fifth of the pupils coming from working class homes: superiority of girls greatest in families of Negro manual workers.

3. School is contributing factor in achievement by homogenizing standards--two mechanisms are:
   a. peer-group pressures--in upper class school, 'isolates' or those not going on to college are more numerous; this is not a factor in lower class school.
   b. teacher standards: teachers are less expecting and award consistently higher grades than test performances warrant in lower class school.

B.1. Due to segregation of social classes, societies tend to develop differing norms, values and social structures.
2. In working class schools, teachers tend to normalize a lower level of achievement and attitudes towards schooling are largely irrelevant among peers, thus these pupils are inadequately prepared when uniform achievement criteria applies in higher grades.
3. When working class students are almost automatically and necessarily assigned to general or vacational curricula, it comes as an 'unanticipated and discriminatory jolt'.

Wilson, James Q. "The Urban Unease: Community vs. City", The Public Interest, Summer 1968.

Discussion of the urban crisis as being a sense of failure of community.

B.1. Few chances for people to participate in decision-making functions of community. 'Voting' and joining civic organizations ineffective for true expressions of concern.
2. Urban dwellers prefer to maintain ethnic character of their neighborhoods.
3. Social class is primary predictor of intergroup behavior--not race.
4. Groups of urbanites affected by breakdown of community:
   a. affluent whites without children (swingers)
   b. poor or elderly whites trapped financially in the central city.
   c. Negroes--poor and middle class.
5. Meaningful opportunities for exercise of urban citizenship exist at neighborhood level.
6. Real price of segregation is that it forces blacks of different class positions together--limits upward mobility.
7. Inability to take collective action inhibits people from obtaining what they really want.
8. Fundamental urban problems are root questions of values; and these change or assert themselves slowly, if at all.

Yee, Albert H. "Interpersonal Attitudes of Teacher and Advantaged and Disadvantaged Pupils", Journal of Human Resources, Summer 1968.

Analyses of teacher's attitudes toward children and of pupils' towards their teacher.

A.1. Great variances between the characteristics of teachers of advantaged pupils and teachers of disadvantaged pupils.

2. Factors:
   a. pupil's social class.
   b. teacher's sex.
   c. grade level.
   d. pupil's ethnic social class characteristics.
3. Interaction found between (a) and (b); (a) and (c).

C. In improving educational opportunities it is essential to consider administration - community factors and personality pedagogical characteristics of teachers.

SECTION III

The purpose of this section is to bring together in a cohesive fashion the various items of information contained in the preceding section. The strategy employed has a built-in logic that is reflected in the way in which the different topic headings have been ordered. Thus after an initial statement on the breakdown of the community in large urban areas comes a consideration of problems of identity and contingent culture-based problems of ghetto dwellers--in particular, dysfunctional traits and low status. From this discussion arises a consideration of difficulties in cross-cultural communication, and on the effects of differences in cross-cultural communication. Then follows a recognition of the systemic character of the ghetto cultures and the desirability of adoption of a holistic approach to educational issues, that results in the involvement of parents and other neighborhood sections of the community. Guidelines for involving parents are dealt with next and their role in planning and community development is elaborated. Predictably this leads in turn to a discussion of problems of school involvement in community development and with the full circle of the wheel, a return to the problem of identity but this time as identity change. The characteristics of identity change and problems of achieving it lead in turn to an enunciation of principles of identity change. Two further issues complete the section. They are concerned respectively with the process of community revitalisation and the way in which teachers' knowledge and skills may promote it.

* * * * *

From the perspective of community development, educational problems are seen as being embedded in community problems. This embedding affects both the nature of the problems and the kinds of solutions which are likely to be effective in eliminating them. Much of the contribution that community development might make to teacher training lies in (i) the extent to which it can throw light on the social genesis of educational problems and (ii) the suggestions which it can make for action to be taken by the school in cooperation with other agencies.

Among the community problems which contribute to the failure of conventional educational methods to accomplish their ends in urban ghettos are:

I. The breakdown of the community in large urban areas

A. Alienation: which is defined as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. It is prevalent in urban areas and leads to a lack of a common culture and a breakdown of the sense of community. Students who are alienated are strengthened in a belief that the school is an institution of a society of which they are not a part. On the part of all citizens, alienation leads to:

1. Feelings of apathy, frustration, and discouragement.
2. Suspicion, jealousy, and a lack of respect for civic leaders.
3. Inability to take collective action, that is a lack of problem solving 'know how' on a community level.
4. Disinterest in taking constructive problem solving steps based on the sense of powerlessness.
5. Feelings of dependency on government.
6. Erosion of community as seen in:
   a. Poor upkeep of neighborhoods
   b. Race prejudice and discrimination
   c. Imbalance between technology and human institutions.

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B. Breakdown of local government as seen in:

1. Unwillingness of town leaders to accept community responsibility
2. Lack of interagency communication
3. Diminution of the chances for citizen participation in local decision making.

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II. Problems of identity

Since all learning is identity change of one degree or another, problems of identity are central to the educational effort.

A. Characteristics of Identity

1. Each of us has an identity which is made up of social and personal features.

2. Since identity depends on perception, I may not perceive my identity as you do.

3. Identity can change as new features are added or old ones dropped, but in every society certain features are regarded immutable, e.g., race among ourselves or social class in medieval Europe.

4. In addition certain features can become immutable or being so regarded, e.g. level of intelligence or social poise or mathematical ability.

5. Item 4 is important for education. If a program aims to change features of a student's identity which either he or the teacher regards as immutable, the program will probably not succeed. For one cannot really commit himself to a course of action whose aims he regards as unattainable.

6. One of the chief obstacles to educational improvement among ghetto children is the widespread belief in their constitutional inferiority, a belief which they often share. I cannot change my identity if I don't believe in the reality of the change.

7. At the same time, however much I may believe in a change in my identity, I cannot really change unless others also accept my new identity. If a student begins to improve, but teachers continue to treat him as a poor student, it will be very difficult for him to sustain his new image of himself on which his achievement depends.

8. In addition to his actual identity, everyone has identity ideals. That is, he has an idea of the kind of person he would like to be. Such ideals are largely determined by social norms. An important point for teachers is that if the identity ideals which teachers have for their students are very different from those which the students have for themselves, it will be difficult for the teacher to enlist the willing efforts of the students unless she deliberately orders her teaching around the students' own identity ideals.

9. Some people develop their conceptions of self in relation to identity models, that is others who embody identity ideals. Such models must, in addition, be similar enough to the people concerned for them to be able to see the model as attainable.

Source

Goodenough, Ward Hunt, Cooperation in Change (1963)

B. Cultural traits of slum dwellers which are dysfunctional in the world outside

1. The ghetto walls are protective in a debilitating way, and ghetto people are often afraid of the world 'outside'
2. The pathology of the ghetto is self-perpetuating because of the lack of communication between the ghetto and the 'outside'
3. The Negro's image of himself is governed by that held by white society. (That this is changing is one of the most important social issues in this country today.)
4. Poor people lack social skills and knowledge and so participate less in community affairs than higher classes.
5. Lacking leadership, the poor do not see group action as having much potential.
6. Lower class pupils achieve less well than if they were in a mixed or middle class school.
7. Lower class pupils have lower educational aspirations than they would have in a mixed or middle class school.

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C. Identity problems related to low status

1. Poor children are aware of their low status and have a correspondingly poor opinion of their abilities.
2. The teacher's low expectations reinforce the student's low opinions of themselves and contribute to their poor performance in school.
3. In the case of minorities, there is a feeling that a high school diploma will not lead to a job because of discrimination.
4. Poor people experience deprivation and exclusion. Some reactions to these are:
   a. An expressive life style
   b. Violence
   c. Depression of goals
   d. Attempts to emulate the middle class

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III. Difficulties in cross-cultural communication

The problems discussed above as well as other factors lead to difficulties in communication between the teacher who is a member of one sub-culture and the students who are members of another.

A. Wants and needs

1. A 'want' is a perceived discrepancy between an actual situation and some desired state of affairs. Since different people, particularly those from different cultures, perceive the actual situation differently and desire a different ultimate situation, their 'wants' are different.

2. Teachers, being middle class, are likely to have wants for their students quite different from those which their lower class pupils have themselves.

3. A 'need' is the means for effecting the change from an actual to a desired state of affairs. Needs are of three sorts:

   a. Real needs--those which an omniscient observer would recommend to effect the desired change.

   b. Felt needs--those which the client (student) perceives as needed.

   c. Observed needs--those which the change agent (teacher) considers most effective.

4. Teachers and students are likely to have widely divergent opinions concerning the students' needs in any situation. But the student cannot be expected to be motivated to do what the teacher would like him to unless the student sees the action as an effective means for achieving some desired goal. This problem will exist even when the goals can be agreed on.

5. Since the students cannot be expected to take the teacher's wants and needs for them as their own, it is up to the teacher to take account of the felt wants and needs of the students if their cooperation is desired. They will be motivated to learn according to their wants and needs and not the teacher's.

Source

Goodenough, Ward Hunt, Cooperation in Change (1963)

B. Causes of difficulties in cross-cultural communication

1. Teachers are middle class people and they lack the special training required for effective cross-cultural communication.

2. Teachers lack understanding of the students' culture.

3. Teachers do not understand the impact of socio-cultural change on the students' identity needs.

4. Teachers do not approve of the students' culture.

5. Conflicts between the values of the students and those of the teachers.

6. The teacher is not often a good identity model for poor students because she lacks traits that the students admire, particularly wealth and power, and because she disqualifies herself by rejecting the students.

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C. Effects of difficulties in cross-cultural communication

1. Students cannot be taught to solve problems which they do not recognize as such.

2. Often teachers demand that students learn things (middle class values) which violate the students' identity ideals.

3. Student groups have norms. Students cannot be expected to learn to behave in ways which seriously conflict with their own group norms.

4. The prescriptions of the school appear to be unworkable in the world with which the students are acquainted.

5. Often the school's teachings are rejected because they do not fit into the cultural pattern of the students.

6. The teacher, as an outsider, is perceived as a threat to group solidarity.

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Suggestions for solutions

Community workers have evolved solutions to the problems in the previous sections. These solutions have not been experimentally tested in controlled situations, but they have been applied in the field and found to be successful. Some of the principles underlying these solutions are listed below.

Obviously, most of the things which community developers would advise communities and neighborhoods to do to improve their educational services are beyond the scope of the efforts of an individual teacher in a classroom. However, in order to solve the problems currently plaguing education in our ghettos, schools will need to join with other agencies and with citizen groups in a broad attack on a number of basic social problems. In order to do this effectively, teachers and other school personnel will need to understand something of the philosophy of community development and something of its methods.

IV. Holistic approach

Since educational problems are imbedded in social problems, no real change in the schools can come about without corresponding change in community social structure. Therefore the traditional division of social problems into sharply defined subject matter areas of responsibility is dysfunctional. Some of the things which can be done to improve this situation are:

A. Involving other agencies (in a concerted attack on social, political, and economic problems).

1. Teachers and other personnel need special training in the goals and methods of community development to equip them to understand and work with other agencies in the ghetto. The reason is that traditional agency people have a narrow loyalty to their agencies which precludes much interagency cooperation.

2. Training sessions are also needed for elected officials, committee leaders.

3. The community can be viewed by the school as a system of families and services that support them. This system would then be the target of educational organizations and institutions.

4. Programs aimed at changing local cultural patterns must include more than formal instruction from 8:30 to 4:00.

5. Even the interagency approach must remain flexible and involve the wider community and the families of the students in a varying mix.

6. Guidelines for teachers or school administrators working with officials from other agencies.

a. The worker should always consult an officer of another department and get his consent before committing him to provide help on a project.

b. When the worker knows before he starts on a project that he will need to call on other officers for help, he should either invite them to share in the planning or, alternatively, submit his plans to them for comment.

c. The worker must aim to insure that all those who help on a project get their full share of credit for whatever help they give, even if this means getting less credit for himself.

d. The worker should keep his main purpose in mind and therefore, his natural resentment under control, when the help he asks for is not forthcoming.

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B. Involving parents and other neighborhood people

1. Involvement in school programs.

This is the matter of developing parental support for programs of interest to the school. Some of the ways in which local people have been involved are:

a. They have been stimulated to organize tutoring programs.

b. They have been hired to work with teachers and school social workers. Local people are often the best recruits for programs because they can bridge the gaps between agencies and their clienteles.

c. 'Cultural visits' to places of interest have been organized.

d. Groups have been organized for 'participation' in school programs.

e. School people have been sent out to meet parents or even function as community workers.

f. The method of 'each one teach one' has been used.

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2. Guidelines for involving parents

a. Most alleged causes of non-participation by parents are related to low socio-economic status. Therefore, a program for involving parents should concern the three basic determinants of socio-economic status, education, occupation, and income. In other words, begin where the parents are rather than where the school is.

b. The school must take the initiative in making contact.

c. The school cannot meet all the needs of parents and should seek the cooperation of other agencies.

d. Face to face contact is the best way to get cooperation.

e. Local people can notify and contact each other.

f. Parents should have the opportunity to contribute as much as they can.

g. Parents should take part in planning as well as in carrying out activities. The best way to involve people in goal centered activity is to let them set the goals.

h. Increased responsibility and credit should be given to 'ordinary' people.

i. Local leaders and outstanding members of parents' ethnic group should be used as resources.

j. The results of joint school-parent activities should be shared with parents. (Note the relationship between this item and items g and h above.)

k. The school should be a community school.

l. Status differences between parents and teachers should be minimized.

m. Solutions to problems must come through the residents' own efforts.

n. Ghetto people do not recognize that they have economic, social, or educational problems. They have only one problem: Life. They do not think in neat bureaucratic or disciplinary boxes. Therefore, any program which wants to inlist their support must be holistic and begin at some point which is salient to them.

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3. Involvement of parents in neighborhood planning and development

This is the heart of community development in urban areas. It includes all of the other things in this outline. It involves both a set of methods and approaches which have been found to be effective and a moral and political view that it is better for people to govern their own local destinies than for 'experts' to do it for them.

a. Characteristics of the community development approach

1) Community development is 'non'directive'. It is not concerned to promote particular solutions to specific local problems.

2) Community development is concerned to assist the people

to take an integrated approach to solving community problems. This occurs when the people take the initiative, their plans can integrate the activities of self-help with back-up services from outside agencies.

3) Community development is concerned to foster a process of growth in group problem solving ability and of the 'sense of community'.

4) Community development is concerned to develop the 'horizontal'patterns in a community which connect the members to each other. (This is in opposition to the main trend of our time which is to strengthen the 'vertical' patterns which connect citizens to agencies outside the community like national and regional businesses, and state and national government agencies.)

5) Community development takes the position that science cannot set goals, properly speaking, and that therefore, when experts go beyond their role of describing alternatives and prescribe goals, they speak as citizens only. In this role their opinions should not be given heavier weight than the opinions of other citizens.

b. Guidelines for involving people in a community development process.

1) Even when people choose a project themselves, the worker should check to see that it meets a real need.

2) The worker needs to be able to convince people that he really wants to help them.

3) Solutions to problems must be acceptable in the people's terms as well as the workers. (See action on improving cross-cultural communication.)

4) The worker needs to give as much attention to leaders who do sympathize with his aims as to those who do not.

5) The worker should not assume, if the people readily agree to a project he suggests, that they therefore want it and will genuinely do their best to carry it through to a successful conclusion.

6) The workers should make sure that the project has and can keep the support of everyone whose help will be needed.

7) The worker must try to ensure that the changes he promotes, and the way he promotes them, do not adversely affect the status of the people's traditional leaders.

8) Before suggesting a project or assigning work, define for oneself as clearly and specifically as possible the exact need or needs the project will meet.

9) When suggesting a project or assigning work, ask whether the need exists and promote discussion with a view to getting the people to assess the need for themselves.

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4. Problems of school involvement in community development

a. In order for schools to participate effectively in community development, their bureaucratic rigidity needs to be broken down, and the gap between them and their clientele in poor areas needs to be narrowed. Methods for accomplishing this include:

1) Demonstration of unorthodox techniques, e.g. homework helper units.

2) Integrative methods, that is for community groups to work with the schools to change them. This is practical if the schools and the community share objectives.

3) Pressure methods. These are used to overcome basic disagreements or to force a restructuring of relationships (see below, Identity Changes)

b. Innovations in education which do not involve key school personnel like teachers, principals, or superintendents but from which they can expect local reaction are likely to be evaded or diluted to ineffectiveness. Therefore, new programs must have incentives in them for the 'old guard' to cooperate.

c. Factors which tend to prevent schools from participating in community development

1) The school's preoccupation with its own problems.

2) Traditional detachment of schools from community life in the minds of educators, students, and parents.

3) Usual one-way planning by administrators of school activities.

4) Teaching staff consisting in part of non-residents.

5) Lack of personnel to give attention to neighborhood participation.

6) School officials feeling no pressure or support to engage in such a program.

7) Reluctance of school people to become entangled in political or other controversial civic activities.

8) School's relative lack of consciousness of the community's development as a means to the aims of education.

d. Middle class, university trained consultants require special training and experience before they can effectively communicate information to less well educated members of the lower class.

e. Programs that get down to 'gut issues' of low income people are resisted due to the dilemmas they pose for professional groups who strive to maintain a semblance of professionalism in the broader community.

f. Traditional agency people including teachers lack the attitudes and skills which would allow them to cooperate effectively in broad interdepartmental programs. Their attitude of loyalty toward and identification with their respective agencies preclude such cooperation if they feel that the status or autonomy of their agency is threatened. (This is a point at which proper teacher orientation and training would be of great value for improving education in the ghetto.)

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V. Identity Change

The goal of all learning is some sort of identity change. In every society there are regular steps through which the members pass acquiring a new identity at each step. Our school system is designed to provide children with the qualifications for advancing through the identity steps of our society.

The basic problem of the ghetto dweller is that for many reasons he is blocked from following the regular paths of identity change of our society. The problem of education in the ghetto is that it has failed to equip the students to do so.

A. Characteristics of identity change

1. Everyone goes through a number of identity changes in his life as he passes through various stages and occupies various statusses. Education is essentially an attempt to induce people to change their self-concept in certain ways desired by society.

2. Each person's self-concept is made up from the perceptual categories he has available to him as a result of his experience.

3. People can change their identities in two ways. They can rearrange their existing perceptual categories in new combinations, as, for example, when a man combines his view of himself with his concept of marriage to conceive himself a married man. The other way people change their identities is by acquiring new perceptual categories, as, for example, when a young man goes to medical school and learns the perceptual categories necessary to a conception of himself as a doctor.

4. The first of the two ways is much the easier to accomplish, and so educational efforts should be directed toward this end. The teacher should try to appeal to her students in terms of their own identities and identity ideals. Otherwise the students probably will not be motivated to learn.

5. The alternative of trying to change the perceptual framework in which the students view themselves by introducing new perceptual categories can be accomplished only insofar as the teacher can subject the students to new experiences sufficiently shocking that the students are jolted into new ways of looking at themselves. Since this cannot be done under present policies without some degree of voluntary cooperation from the students, the prospects for this kind of identity change are slim.

6. There is further requirement for successful identity change. People change their views of themselves because they find themselves in situations where their old identities no longer fill their needs and where their old perceptual framework cannot make sense of the situation. In order to maintain the change, it is necessary for them to continue to have experiences to which their new perceptual system is applicable. If they return to the situations they were in before the change and do not continue to have experiences which support them in their new identities, they can be expected to lose the new identity and revert to the old.

7. People often feel considerable anxiety over impending changes in their identities even when they want very much to make

the change, and we have evolved ways of helping people get through the major identity changes our society requires. Thus, for example, a bride is given a 'shower', and through it is confirmed in her commitment to go through with the wedding and encouraged by the envy and attention of her friends.

8. In cases where an individual or a group wants to make a change of identity which is not a normal part of growth in their society, their anxiety causes them to commit some act which will commit them irrevocably to the change. Such acts include sudden rudeness or radical changes in dress which force others to stop regarding the one attempting to change in the old way. Since actions which achieve this end must be very provocative, antisocial actions are a tempting way to accomplish it. Whatever the consequences of such acts, one can never be the same after committing them. This is particularly the case where the problem is seen primarily as one of forsaking an old identity and the specific form of the new is secondary concern. Thus, the various actions black people use in advocating 'Black Power', e.g. coarse provocative language, and in adopting strange styles of dress, can be viewed as acts intended to commit the people doing them irrevocably to forsaking their old identity and looking for a new. Since education is an attempt to induce identity change, such acts should be interpreted as readiness for education properly presented rather than as shocking evidence of unfitness for education.

9. In order to change his identity, a person must have an idea of what features it is that he would like to obtain and some clear way of obtaining them. Every society therefore provides models toward which its members can strive.

10. If, however, people are blocked from reaching their identity goals by social pressure or changing circumstances, they must either retreat into fantasy or work for a new social order. This is the situation of the black American today. (See 'Revitalization Movements')

11. In order for an identity change to be successful a person must be accepted in his new identity by those around him. If teachers succeed in stimulating students to new efforts based on new self-images, the change will not last unless the teacher begins to treat the students appropriately for the new identities. Likewise, if the students are attempting to accomplish changes in their own identities through such things as odd clothes, strange language, 'Afro' hairdos, or other devices, refusal by the teachers to recognize the new identities of the students can only alienate them.

Source

Goodenough, Ward Hunt, Cooperation in Change (1963)

B. Problems of identity change in ghetto schools

1. Often teachers demand that students learn things which violate their identity ideals.
2. Identity change is frightening. It can only take place in a relationship of mutual respect and trust.
3. As a new identity is adopted, it must express itself in new relationships with others, including the teacher. If the teacher continues to have the same expectations of the students and to demand that they adhere to the old relationship with her, she will effectively prevent the identity change from taking place. One cannot maintain an identity if others refuse to accept it.
4. It is impossible to teach democracy in an undemocratic way.
5. It is also impossible to teach citizenship if the school is afraid to permit the discussion of real current social problems in class.
6. It is impossible for teachers to teach citizenship if the teacher herself is a model of political apathy and non-involvement.
7. Persons of low socio-economic status are likely to be more dogmatic than persons of high socio-economic status. This has importance for learning which affects identity. Some important points are:
   a. Such persons feel alienated and have a tendency to minimize and defame school values. They act in a passive and yielding manner to the on-rush of life.
   b. The tendency to avoid a feared stimulus is stronger the closer the individual is to it.
   c. Such persons feel hostility and anxiety toward perceived authority.
   d. Such persons frequently exhibit 'withdrawal' tendencies.
   e. People who are afraid of a stimulus are fearful. Instructions from persons in authority which are designed to inhibit their feelings tend to enhance effect.
   f. An illiterate person is convinced he cannot read.
8. The teacher is 'given'. He did not choose to teach these pupils, and they did not choose him as their tutor. He is an institutional leader in the first place. He will have to seek after and deserve the element of personal leadership.
9. The model for identity change as a source of conflict
   a. A child envies those having power and often identifies with models perceived as holding this resource, especially when the model is accepting and nurturant.
   b. When the model is excessively rejecting and hostile the child labels it as negative and regards social agents

that hold power as undesirable models.

c. The child will adopt an idealized model whose primary ch cacteristic is to reject such behavior.

d. Lack of congruence between idealized model that rejects social power and the recognition that academic excellence results in social power will lead to inhibition and blocking of future academic striving.

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C. Principles which can facilitate identity change

1. There exists high potential in every person for further growth
2. People grow in competence when encouraged but not pressured
3. Leadership grows when proper encouragement steps are taken
4. The more involved a person is, the greater is the potential for change in him.
5. Identity change takes time
6. After a behavior change, people must be helped to develop confidence in their new roles.
7. The 'helper principle' is that the helper is benefitted at least as much as the helped.
8. Prestige ranking of school subjects must offer the student a chance to fulfill his ego-ideals.
9. The principles given above for obtaining parent participation also apply to facilitating healthy identity change in students.
10. Official policies, executed without equivocation, can result in large changes in behavior and attitudes despite initial resistance to those policies. In other words, if whites are forced to integrate with blacks, they learn to like each

other better if certain conditions are met.

a. Behavior of minority group members must not conform to stereotypes.

b. Interactions must be strong enough to allow prejudiced persons to check their stereotypes with reality.

c. The prejudiced person must have values which conflict with his prejudices or be exposed to strong pressure, such as public policies, to change his attitudes.

11. As in the community development process in the community as a whole, healthy identity change can be induced through involvement in creative problem solving:

a. Involve students in diagnosing good and bad points of classroom.

b. Seminars of teen-leaders can examine unhealthy divisions in their peer society.

c. Examine data on causes of problems between youth and adults.

d. Use of older children as tutors to help the younger ones. First give them some simple training.

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D. Some goals of identity change as seen by community development

1. Increased pride in community and hope for it.
2. Growth in personal courage.
3. Improvement in discussion and fact finding skills.
4. Increased skill in meeting strangers.
5. Increased belief that personal involvemnet can affect civic action.
6. Awareness of the effect of one's actions on others.

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E. Revitalization movements

When a group wants to change its collective identity but is blocked from doing so by circumstances such as hostile laws, race prejudice, or ignorance, it becomes demoralized and frustrated, and its members exhibit anomic behavior such as rising crime rates, riots, and drunkenness. This is the situation of the black community in America today. One of the ways people get out of such circumstances is through revitalization movements. The black community today is undergoing one of the largest revitalization movements in history. So it is important that anyone who intends to work in American ghettos understand the nature of such movements. The principles which underlie revitalization movements follow.

1. When a group of people becomes dissatisfied because its collective identity or the member's identities no longer gratify, the members become increasingly frustrated.
2. If their social system provides no suitable way for the group to achieve a new collective identity, demoralization, rising crime rates, and other socially delinquent behavior are likely to increase.
3. This further lowers the self esteem of the group and the esteem in which others hold its members. This produces further frustration and more anomic behavior and thus a vicious circle is set up.
4. One of the most common ways through which people get out of this situation is the revitalization movement.
5. In the condition of collective frustration described above,

someone is likely to get a sudden flash of insight which solves the problem for him. This insight may come through a vision or other supernatural experience. It may come through the individual's acquiring new knowledge. In any case, he will experience a feeling of salvation because the new insight satisfactorily solves his identity problems and makes sense of the world around him.

6. But in order for the individual to be confirmed in his new identity, others must also look upon him in the new light, and to do so they must be converted to a new way of looking at things generally. Further, the individual may see an identity change of the group with which he identifies himself as being required to solve his own identity problems.

7. If many people share the individual's frustrations and if his insight offers salvation to them too, he will win converts, and a vitalization movement will get under way.

8. Such a movement typically goes through six stages:

   a. Inspiration--this stage is where an individual receives the flash of insight which enables him to reorganize his cognitive structure and opens the way to a new identity. It commonly 'explains' what the causes of the individuals frustration were--frequently other groups, a social system or an oligarchy. It gives a prescription for a new order which will provide for a new identity.

   b. Communication--the individual reveals his insight to others and seeks their cooperation. He stresses two motifs: That those who have faith in his message will find comfort and security in its authority and that by identifying with him and performing the acts which he recommends, they will bring the new order into being from which all will receive much benefit.

   c. Organization of converts--if the 'prophet' finds a receptive audience, a movement is likely to get under way.

   d. Adaptation of resistance--a revitalization movement is a revolutionary movement because it aims to bring about a radical transformation of society and create a situation in which the identity goals of the movement's supporters can be achieved. So it is bound to raise opposition. This can be either an active attempt to stifle the movement, or it can be simply a refusal to take it seriously. The threat posed by the latter sort of opposition is subtle. Refusal to believe in the validity of the movement means refusal to accept the new identities of its adherents. Since one cannot successfully achieve a new identity unless others are willing to recognize it, such lack of recognition defeats the goals of the movement. Those who refuse to take the movement seriously are thus likely to earn the undying

hatred of its adherents. In any case, the movement must find ways to overcome both active and passive resistance if it is to succeed.

e. Enacting a program--the movement must propose specific measures through which its adherents are to win the coveted new order. In this phase the movement is likely to be both religious and totalitarian in character. Since the members feel insecure and ill at ease in their new identity, they are likely to welcome firm direction and to place unquestioning faith in those who provide such direction. The apparently irrational and totalitarian in character of this phase of the movement is likely to prove repellant to us who are accustomed to valuing rationality and individual independence, but we should not allow our feelings to bind us to what the movement is trying to do.

f. Routinization--if the action phase is successful the new identity is gratifying to the people, the new pattern of living will become routine. The totalitarian character of the movement will lessen as people become accustomed to their new identities.

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VI. Improving the teacher's cross-cultural knowledge and skills

A. Teachers need an understanding of ghetto culture and of Afro-American culture in order to understand the habits and goals of their students.

B. Teachers must not adopt an attitude of disparagement of the student's culture.

C. Teachers must learn something of the impact of current socio-cultural change on the identity needs of their students. (See Revitalization Movements)

D. Since students cannot be taught to solve problems which they do not recognize as such, the goals of education must jibe with those of the students. This means either:

1. The teachers must share the students' goals, or

2. The teacher must be willing to adapt her teaching to them.

E. Since identity change can take place only in an atmosphere of mutual trust, the teacher must care whether the students learn and must believe they can.

F. Some portion of the teacher's training should be in a slum school.

G. Before suggesting a project or assigning work define for one-self as clearly and specifically as possible the exact need or needs which it is hoped the project will meet.

H. When suggesting a project or assigning work, ask whether the need exists, and promote discussion with a view to getting the students to assess it for themselves. Try to get them to consider:

1. The extent of the benefits that the project would bring.

2. How they could carry it out.

3. What difficulties they would need to anticipate.

I. Teachers can engage in diagnostic research--collect data in the classroom, hold workshop, discuss and interpret data and plan changes.

J. Teachers must understand the nature of revitalization movements and their relevance to education.

1. Strong revitalization movements are going on in black ghetto communities all over the United States, especially among young people. Such groups as US in Los Angeles, The Black Panthers in Oakland, and The Black Muslims in New York are revitalization movements at least in part.

2. The members of these groups are trying to establish new identities for themselves. They show the rigidity of behavior, religious fervor, intolerance of deviation, and often the violent character of people in the midst of a major identity change.

3. Since they are trying to establish themselves in new

identities, they feel a great need for any assistance they can get in learning the skills needed for their new roles. Thus, they are the ghetto's best prospects for education.

4. But the adherents of such 'Black Power' revitalization movements are often precisely the people whom teachers have the greatest difficulty communicating with. This is not surprising. The behavior of people caught up in a revitalization movement is likely to be violent, fervent, irrational, and intolerant of traditional rules and authority. The teacher's values include rationality, thoughtfulness, orderliness, and obedience to traditional authority and rules. Teachers are likely to be so repelled by what they regard as the excesses of the movement's adherents that they will feel that people who engage in such 'immature' behavior are 'not ready' for formal education. Regarding themselves as reasonable people, teachers condemn what they regard as unreasonable behavior. They prefer to work with people who are relatively calm and reasonable. But, as we have seen, it is precisely the people who are going through the trauma of radical identity change and who show it by emotional, irrational, and sometimes violent behavior who feel the greatest need for education properly presented.

5. This presents teachers with a dilemma to which Goodenough (from whose book these ideas are taken) offers no real solution. Adherents of 'Black Power' revitalization movements are the ghettos' best prospects for education. They are desperately trying to work out new identities for themselves, and in these efforts they need all the assistance they can get. But their violent rejection of their old identity and with it the whole social setting of which it was a part, makes them intolerant and suspicious of authorities within the traditional structure. Teachers are authorities within the traditional structure par excellence. This position, combined with their own readiness to dismiss as immature or irrational the behavior of these students makes any communication between them and the students almost (not quite) impossible. Bridging this gap requires exceptional strength, understanding, warmth, and tolerance on the teacher's part. And let there be no mistake; the responsibility for bridging the gap must be largely the teachers.

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SECTION IV

SUMMATION

One single-minded assumption lay behind our initial decision to include Community Development among the array of disciplines thought relevant to the task of educating disadvantaged children. It was that if knowledge of the problems and difficulties inherent in promoting community development were communicated to teachers, then some naive and erroneous prejudices about the 'improvement' of ghetto environments might be eliminated. We were well aware of the widespread view that individuals can, with a little enterprise, better their lots and that communities can, if they have enough fortitude, initiate and carry out self-improvement programs effectively. We were also aware of the fallacious basis of such a viewpoint and of the mammoth effort necessary to convert disadvantage into comparability. We reasoned that teachers whose ignorance led them to believe that effort is everything, would base their teaching on inadequate grounds. We reasoned also that if, as a consequence of their ignorance, they held negative attitudes towards the parents of their pupils, this too would be dysfunctional. Our search of community development literature and our consultations confirmed our initial assumption. However, we also gained access to ideas that extended our thinking well beyond our originally limited perspective.

It is the purpose of this section of the report then to give an overall account of how we think knowledge of community development is relevant to teachers of disadvantaged children and how their action might be modified accordingly. However, it should be pointed out that the fine detail of the procedures necessary to ensure that such knowledge becomes internalized by the teachers and incorporated in their behavior subsequently, will not be provided here. Our immediate intention is to provide a broad outline--a strategy for training, if you will. The specific tactics will come later. They will be attendant initially on the marshalling of the human and technical resources necessary. Then, and only then, can a complete and detailed battle plan be drawn up. If the battle analogy can be protracted a little further, the printed report represents a reconnaissance. We have surveyed the ground, reviewed the nature of the objective and made a quick review of available

resources. To convert the overall strategy into specific and detailed tactics which are economical and efficient will require collaborative efforts between educationists and community developers. As we see it, the educationists will take our recommendations and modify them in accordance with what is educationally feasible--given their own knowledge of (i) the education system, (ii) of their own existing training system, (iii) of the human resources they have, (iv) of the material resources they have, and so on. They will then produce a suitably tailored set of behavioral objectives which will specify what the trained teacher of disadvantaged children will need to be able to do. Then they will seek guidance from community developers again, asking for greater elaboration of specific, community development content relevant to the accomplishment of the objectives. The resulting two-way dialog would in turn, produce modification of the behavioral objectives until a satisfactory rapprochement were accomplished. At that point the educationists would undertake their initial test of what is now, in effect, a curriculum. They will try out their program with its suitably written course work, its aids (film, transparencies, video tapes, etc.), its programmed learning, its C.A.I., its real life experience components, and so forth. On the strength of the results of the test, further modification will be made until the program can meet the stringent requirements of efficiency specified. At that point it would be implemented as a full scale training program.

However, much of this lies in the future. The immediate problem is to sketch in the broad basis from which such a development can be undertaken. This will be done by considering the matter from two points of view: (i) the role of community development, and (ii) the teacher and community development. Because a recognition of the nature of the community development process is a necessary pre-condition for relating the teacher to it, consideration of the role of community development and community developers comes first. However, readers who would want a more detailed and penetrating discussion of this topic should refer to some of the basic writings in the field, for example, Biddle (1965) and Biddle and Biddle (1968).

The Role of Community Development

In simplest terms, the role of community development is to develop communities. However, concealed in the overt simplicity of that statement, are three vexed issues. First, there is considerable difficulty in defining exactly what constitutes a community. Second, because development implies change and because change can be toward or away from a desirable condition, there remains the value laden problem of justifying what is seen as desirable. Third, because change may be induced directly or indirectly, there are moral and pragmatic questions that have to be resolved. These three points all need elaboration.

Community. In every-day speech, the word community is used to indicate groups of human beings defined by some common characteristic. Within the social sciences the term is used variously. To geographers, a community is territorially defined. To anthropologists it is culturally defined. To anthropological linguists it is defined in terms of semantic, phonological and grammatical commonality. As well, within sociology, it is possible to find a variety of uses which, depending on context, may recognize geographical characteristics, ethnic characteristics, cultural characteristics or even characteristic networks of communication. Pervading all usages however, is some sense of commonality. No matter how community may be defined, all members of that community are thought to have something in common. The problem arises however, when commonality beyond the defining characteristic is inferred. For example, we find it convenient to talk about the inner city community, the ghetto community, the black community, and so on. Some problems are immediately apparent. For instance, how does one differentiate inner city from suburbia--City Hall's criterion is, of course, purely arbitrary. Again, if there are difficulties in geographical definition, to what extent can it be assumed that community in the sense of an interlocking network of social relationships exists at the same time. In other words, to what extent can it be assumed that the inhabitants of the defined 'community' come in contact with each other? Beyond this again, whether they do have mutual contact or not, do they share the same norms and values? Are their beliefs and attitudes identical? There is no reason to assume that in any community, however defined, the inhabitants do not manifest as much unique individuality as do members of communities to which we ourselves

belong. There is also no reason for assuming that within any community it is not possible to find different sub-groups, manifesting different view points, different loyalties and, perhaps more importantly, exercising differing amounts of power. Perhaps sufficient has been said at this point to warn against the ready assumption of widespread homogeneity within any community, irrespective of how it may be defined initially.

Development. In the days when empirialism was rife, Britain, France and Spain as the principal protag .ists of colonialism, had no difficulty in deciding what developments would be appropriate for their subjugated territories. Baldly, development was to be economic and ideological. Thus material benefits and conversion to christianity were the two equally desirable objectives. There is little substantial difference between 18th Century colonialism and 20th Century aid to 'developing contries'. The two major powers, U.S.A. and Russia both promote economic advance and their respective ideologies--although ideology is now political ideology rather than religious. This brief and very superficial excursion into international political science is not as irrelevant as it might seem because the problems of community development are the problems of national development writ cut small. Close parallels can be made between the attitudes, beliefs and philosophies that characterise international politics and those that were once prevalent in community development.

It would not be unfair to state that the early history of community development carried overtones of paternalism too. Developers, imbued with a vision of a better society (that was remarkably reminiscent of their own), sought to induce reform in less 'advanced' communities. Of recent years, community development has largely eschewed this kind of guided reform. They came to recognize the hitherto unquestioned value assumptions that lay behind such procedures. As a consequence, community development has taken on a certain non-directive character. The problem for community developers has become redefined as: in what way may this community be helped to reform itself after its own desire rather than, in what way can this community be reshaped in accordance with my wishes?

Process. Hand in hand with such a change in philosophy has necessarily gone a change in approach. At one time, community developers;

with a fine recognition of their own wisdom and, it would seem, little respect for the indigenes', would justify the means in terms of the 'development' end. Then the basic problem was to choose the method most suitable for manipulating that community. Sometimes, reliance was placed on charismatic leadership, at other times it was placed on direct manipulation and other times again on indirect manipulation. It would be true to state that elements of the old traditions remain, but significant modifications have been made. Although some community developers still retain an aura of charisma, and engage from time to time in indirect and perhaps direct persuasion, the change in objective has resulted in a difference. Now the community developer uses his skills to help the community itself. He aids them to identify their problems, discover available resources, decide on priorities, plan a form of action and execute it--all this with sensitivity to the problem of community identification and interrelationship. In a very real sense the community developer is a catalyst. Without him the various reactions necessary for 'development' would either not occur at all or might well be dysfunctional. To change the metaphor, the community developer can be seen as both a (constructive) 'agent provocateur' and a resource person. At the one time he prompts the community to act and provides insight and information that will enable it to act in accordance with its own values.

Limitations

While the preceding account describes in rough outline some of the basic characteristics of community development, it does not indicate the limits within which community developers must work. Two are worth elaborating here viz. the limitations that the community developer as a professional places on himself and two, the limitations that result from the capacity of a given community to undertake change--its change readiness, if you will.

Professional Limitations

Given the non-directive character of community development, it follows that the community developer himself cannot coerce or intimidate others into undertaking change action. Neither can he undertake to initiate change himself--no matter how desirable he might consider it to be. In this sense the community developer stands in the same

relationship to his community as does the psychoanalyst to his patient. It follows then that responsibility for the nature of development and the speed with which they occur cann t and does not fall on the community developer. His professional judgement will tell him whether his efforts are meeting with reasonable success but success would be seen in terms of 'mobilisation for change' rather than in terms of manifestations of change.

Community Limitations

Whether any given community can and will undertake change depends on a great many interrelated factors. In a very real sense, a community is a system--in the systems theory sense of the word. That is, it is composed of a variety of elements (human and material) in interaction. Within that system, much variation may be manifested. For example, interaction may be extensive, involving many elements mutually. On the other hand, it may be restricted so that a variety of sub-groups may come into existence, each operating in relative isolation. Then again, the interaction may or may not be facilitative of each sub-system's goals. The interaction between sub-systems similarly may or may not be facilitative of the larger system's goals. It can readily be seen that in so far as any system is fragmented and disrupted, the community developer's activities are consequently circumscribed. The nature of some of these specific lim tations is worth noting. Perhaps the best way to deal with this is to start from a consideration of what conditions would be necessary if any controlled change were to be induced in any community.

It is a truism that all communities have problems. If action to reform the cause of the problem is to be undertaken, three conditions have to be met, viz: (i) the cause of the problem has to be identified, (ii) the possibility of reforming it has to be appreciated, and (iii) the means for reforming it have got to be available. Each is dealt with in turn below.

Identification of the problem. Identification of the problem is more readily stated than done. For example, if one listens to the voice of campus protest, the identified problem is a utilitarian one: "We are not being given a useful education"; "we are not being given a relevant education"; "we have no political influence in the

institutions that influence our destiny" and so on. It does not necessarily follow that such specification of the problem is veridical--that is that they are right in terms of their own argument. For example, the usefulness of an education can be variously defined--socially, culturally, esthetically, recreationally, vocationally and so on. Even if the narrowest vocational definition of useful is accepted, (as it usually is) then whether or not individuals, upon graduation, will be able to take up the kind of vocation they desire, is not a function solely of their education. It is also a function of the vocational marketplace and the economic philosophies and practices of society. Thus the hundreds of physics Ph.D.'s who cannot find university appointments at the moment, are not improperly educated--society is merely over-supplied with their kind. If we assume that society will continue to become more efficient in both the production and utilisation of manpower, it is predictable that what has happened to physics Ph.D.'s and is happening to teachers, will happen elsewhere too. Consequently, merely to have had a preferred education will not necessarily guarantee vocational fulfillment--or necessarily any other sort of continual fulfillment either. It follows then that without contingent modification of the vocational segment of the societal system, variation in the educational segment will not necessarily accomplish the purpose desired by those who argue for it. The point of this illustration is that the initial problem has been wrongly identified--in that educational reform will not and cannot produce the result desired. In a similar way, without an accurate identification of the key community problems, community reform or development cannot take place effectively either.

Perceiving the possibility of development. However, if one assumes that the problem is accurately identified in the first place, whether or not a viable solution can be perceived or not, becomes the next issue. If we are also adopting a systemmic viewpoint then viability has got to be seen not only in terms of the resolution of the problem itself but in terms of effects contingent on the solution as well. For example, the argument used by the Administration to rationalize continuing involvement in Vietnam is basically that the contingent effects of withdrawal are likely to be more damaging than the existing situation is. Opponents argue that this is not the case and activists,

by promoting domestic upheaval in the U.S.A., are trying to assure that it will not be the case. The Administration's decision is thus becoming increasingly, a choice of the lesser of two evils. The point may also be illustrated at a more modest level. The aphorism "where there's a will there's a way" is integral to the American philosophy of individual achievement. Tumin (1970), with support from evidence rather than folklore, suggests that a more appropriate version would be "where there's a way there's a will". In corroboration of his viewpoint, consider if you will, the probabilities for and against any given child becoming say, an industrial magnate. If the child is already the son of a magnate, then obviously his prospects are promising. If he is not, but if he is born into wealth, his prospects are still high. If however, he has to earn rather than inherit the means by which status may be achieved, then the probabilities of success are contingent on the kind of pre-earning socialisation he had. And this in turn is contingent on the intellectual, educational, emotional, and social resources of the family to which he belongs. In so far as that family can provide him with the means for achieving the appropriate kind of socialisation, and the appropriate kinds of attitudes, convictions and confidence, the odds will be increased in his favor. In so far as he knows the routes to success because he has been exposed to people who have travelled them, his chances are further increased. If his peers and siblings have demonstrated the feasibility of his ambition, then again he is in a better position. Finally--and finally because this is appreciably attendant on everything that has just been discussed--if he is intelligent enough and is motivated to apply himself diligently, then again his chances improve. Obviously a child who has all of these advantages going for him is more likely to achieve than one who has fewer, and is much more likely than one who only has 'motivation'. However, it should be pointed out that none of these advantages is necessarily due to the individual himself. He neither determined his own genetic constitution nor selected his own social environment. To this extent, success is more a matter of luck than fortitude. To the extent that fortitude is demonstrated however, the youngster from a disadvantaged background who does succeed, displays immensely more fortitude than his advantaged competitor. His success is manifestly more virtuous--not equally virtuous.

In a similar way a community may or may not be capable of appreciating the routes to development. For entirely understandable reasons (similar to those advanced above), a community may simply not know what to do in order to improve. Presumably the community starts in a condition of relative disadvantage--its resources are sub-standard. Beyond that however, it may have no knowledge of what its resources are, and which need to be marshalled if improvement were to be sought. It would have little access to the corridors of power and no understanding of how to gain entry. Its economic resources would be severely limited and circumscribed. Because it lacks many public associations, it would also lack people who know how to marshall human resources (that is why it lacks public associations). All in all then, the functional pre-requisites for community development are lacking.

It is into such a setting that the community developer goes. His task is to help the community appreciate the feasibility of a development vision. Whether he will succeed or not depends on his ability to overcome the credability gap between the harshness of present reality and the prospect of a less harsh future. His success in turn depends on his skill in diagnosing the condition and capability of the community. To this end he seeks to locate sources of influence, to discover communication networks, to understand the stresses and strains, strengths and weaknesses, that are characteristic of the whole community. Then he has to decide how to go about the business of socialising (or if you wish, educating) the community to the alternative forms of action available to them. Whether he does this through established leaders or through public consensus is a matter on which he must exercise his professional judgement. The efficacy of his judgement rests in turn on the extent to which he has himself been socialised to appreciate what form of influence would prove most acceptable to the inhabitants.

Access to means. Development is a culturally relative term. What may be a significant step towards development in primitive Africa may be of no consequence in urban American. For example, there is no need to boil drinking water in American ghettos whereas it is a health necessity in parts of Africa. In other words, what a community itself regards as development is relative to its perception of available

alternatives. Whether a specific development is regarded as an achievement or not is thus a matter of relative deprivation. Now, it is abundantly clear that in America, the gap between the haves and the have-nots is considerable. However, the have-nots have quite considerable awareness of what the haves have. They may not appreciate how the haves got it, or what are some of the less desirable consequences of having it, but they do have an available illustration. For this reason only, to insure that roofs don't leak and that heating is available all winter and that garbage is collected regularly and that property is protected and that there is enough food, is not nearly sufficient in the 20th Century advanced, technological America. The have-nots are aware of the American democratic ideal and the ideal-typical American way-of-life--at least as they seem to be embodied in affluent suburbia. Thus anything less is not enough--disadvantage still remains.

However, to provide for the full flowering of the American dream, calls for massive resources and massive endeavor--at least comparable to Nasa's. Even within a given community the cost of undertaking a full re-development and re-training and re-education program will be immense. So the question at any given time for any given community has to be: what resources are available for the developments desired? More often than not, this will lead to another question: what can be done, given the resources we have? If this last question remains unasked, then two consequences are likely. Either failure will be assured, because resources run out, or success will be minimal because resources have been underestimated. It becomes the community developers' job then to help the community to appreciate what can and cannot be achieved and to reconcile their ambition to their condition. With this by way of a lengthy preamble we can return to the teacher.

Community Development and the Teacher

It is convenient to see the teacher vis à vis community development in four different ways: first the broad view of education as an (unwitting) part of a process of community development; second, the teacher as indirect influence on community development; third, the teacher as a potential collaborator in community development; and fourth, the teacher as a utilizer of community development knowledge.

insight and skill. Each of these will be dealt with in turn in this segment of the summation. At the end there will be a brief discussion of the significance of community development to the study of education.

Education and Community Development

Viewed in broad perspective, education is both for and against change. It is for change in the 'desired' direction but against unwarranted modification of existing custom. This is so whether one examines the manifested form of educational practice or the prescriptions of conventional educational theory. It has long been the tradition among educational philosophers to see as the schools' purpose, the conservation of what is good in society and the modification for the better, of whatever is less than good. The vision is idealisitc and the intention pure but the rub comes in deciding what constitutes the good. It would not be unreasonable to state that the good has been regarded by educators as a kind of amalgam of christican morality and democratic ideology. However, both have been seen (for sociological reasons that relate to the composition of the education work force) through middle class spectacles. They thus carry strong overtones of the puritan ethic of white, striving, surburban America.

It is not the purpose of the present discussion to debate the virtue of the values reflected in education. Nor is it the purpose to subject them to logical scrutiny, despite the fact that inconsistency and imprecision abound. Rather, the reason for raising the issue at all is to point to a fundamental hiatus between community development and education--at least as both find expression in action. When the broad and diverse spectrum of American society is taken into account, it is clear that education has not been community orientated. By that I mean that what teachers do with their children is not geared to the unique characteristics of the embedding community. Instead, certain assumptions have been made about the general nature of American society at large, and about the universalistic character of American children in general, thereupon education has been tailored accordingly. It has followed then that those segments of society, those communities, that diverge most from the average have been more often ill-suited. The divergence between their way of life and the schools' has been greatest. This has not mattered of course at the top end of the social scale. The

lower upper and upper upper class communities have been able to make alternative and elitist provisions. At the other end of the scale, such adjustment has been impossible. As a result the school has, in lower class areas, become the bastion of the middle class ethic. It has survived there,virtuous in its own eyes but alien and irrelevant in the eyes of the surrounding community. What is more, because of its holier-than-thou value stance, it has diversive effects. Its educational message, if accepted, alienates its clients, the pupils, from their peers, family and community. If the educational message is not accepted, then it is the school that must, perforce be rejected.

In contrast with the school's view of the ideal society to be realized through the training and indoctrination of its (inferior) clientele, community development has come to view the issue differently. True, community development did live through a paternalistic period in which justification of the actions of its agents rested heavily on the assumed superiority of their value system--and upon the purity of their intentions. However, because the outcomes of such a policy (doctrine would be a more appropriate word) were unsatisfactory, in that the 'good' community did not necessarily develop, reevaluation became necessary. As problems proliferated, questions were asked about the appropriateness of the procedures adopted. Because community development is action oriented, practically oriented, and present oriented, answers were sought not in a philosophy of community development but through the sciences of man. So, turning to psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and political science, a reformulation of the issues at stake was sought. The reformulation became couched in terms of principles of human behavior. The base issue then became what do we know about human behavior that might permit the development of the good society. Necessarily such an orientation led to the appreciation of 'good' as a culturally relevant and relative term. It followed then that community development was faced with one basic problem but with alternative ways of dealing with it. The problem was to educate the underdeveloped community to a different (better) view of the good. The two basic alternatives available were to do it directly by manipulation toward the predetermined definition of the good, or to do it indirectly by providing conditions under which a

new good might emerge. Of the two alternatives the second required greatest faith and also appeared to entail the greatest risk. After all, there was always the possibility that because of failure to intervene directly, the second state of that community might turn out to be worse than the first. The parallel between this situation and that which confronts the school with its pupils, and parents with their children, is obvious. The issue is the same--how much autonomy when, is functional. Perhaps because they were dealing with adults; or perhaps because they had more faith in their fellow man; or perhaps because they had scrutinized and applied the behavioral sciences carefully; or perhaps because the action was consistent with a democratic ideology; the community developers opted for the indirect approach. Once they did so, they were able to reconcile their actions with their philosophy to a much greater degree.

The point that emerges from this discussion is that although educational and community development agencies are attempting to induce societal change they are doing so differently. Not only are their practices different but so, it seems, are their articles of faith. Whatever the justification for the separate points of view may be, the fact that they are separate has some important implications. If education and community development are not to be at loggerheads there are three logical courses available. Either the school should modify its approach, or community development should, or the means of demonstrating their mutual complementarity should be devised. It is predictable that the last of these alternatives will tend to be attempted first. However, there are many people within education itself who would join with the many more outside it in opting for the first alternative instead.

Under the next heading this larger problem of education vis à vis community development is seen in smaller compass. Attention turns to the teacher and the possible effects of her actions as they bear on the problem of developing communities.

The Teacher and Community Development

Teachers as educational agents are in the change business. They take educationally unsophisticated human organisms and then attempt to shape them into sophisticated form. They do so by a process of

signalling--a process, it should be added, that is much more complicated than teachers recognize. This is why it merits consideration here, even though the discussion will be somewhat tangential to the main line of argument.

Educational signals. At the most elementary level of analysis, the teacher signals to pupils by the use of words. Her words are at the one time culturally loaded, (abstract) artifacts and reflections of the teacher's cognitive style. What words she chooses and how she orders and presents them, provide a role model for her children. To the extent that that model is a culturally biased one and a cognitively constricted one, the model available for the children is a limited one. For example, should a white, middle class teacher have no comprehension of non-standard Negro English, then her own ignorance will impair her communication with her black pupils. Similarly, if her cognitive style is for example, exclusively convergent, then divergent thinking will be likely to form no part of her pupils' intellectual repertoire. The principle that is illustrated here is capable of considerable elaboration. However, for the purposes of the present discussion, it is sufficient to note that to the extent that teachers are incapable of cultural and cognitive versatility in their selection and use fo words, they come to sell their pupils short.

But signalling is not only confined to the words chosen and the cognitive model implicit in their ordering. It is contained in the ideas that the words describe. Such ideas, of course, are also cultural artifacts. So the question becomes, to what culture are the ideas relevant? While this question has hardly ever been subjected to empirical scrutiny, certain logical answers are possible. The culture represented may be the culture of the teacher (W.A.S.P. perhaps), the culture of the pupils (black ghetto, perhaps), the culture of the school (early 20th Century authoritairan, perhaps), or the culture of the classroom (blackboard jungle, perhaps). It seems obvious that if the culture represented in the ideas is not that of the pupils, then there is at least the possibility of misunderstanding. It is obvious too that if there is such a difference, deliberate steps have to be taken to bridge the gap. In other words, the pupils have to come to appreciate the legitimacy of the 'other' culture represented, and they need to

appreciate the utility of conforming to its demands.

Beyond this again, any environment abounds in non-verbal signals. They are conveyed by people, through the gestures they make (a clenched fist), their facial contortions (smiles), their postures (slouching), the clothes they wear (beads), their hair styles (longhairs), and by social conventions observed ("how-do-you-do"). Signals are also sent by the physical environment. Broken windows, littered corridors, torn books, faulty teaching aids, and so on all convey (depressing) meanings. Again, the disposition of people and things within an environment conveys signals. Characteristic of the organisational climate of a school is the answer to the question, who does what, to whom and with what, where? Stringent prescriptive rules convey one message, permissive ones convey another.

Discussion could continue in this vein for some time--the topic is worthy of it--but a point that needs to be made is that the purpose that lies behind this multi-signal environment is a change purpose. Within the school, pupils are to be changed, and in a direction thought to be socially desirable. The teacher tries to shape her educational signals accordingly. It is regrettable but true, that often her attempts are ill-considered and ill-advised from a variety of points of view, viz; (i) her own (intended) objectives, (ii) the relevance to the needs of her children, (iii) their relevance to consistent and stress-free management of her classroom, (iv) their consistency with the policies of the school in the education district, and (v) their appropriateness for the community at large.

It is this last point that brings us back to community development. Which way a community develops depends on what people do in it. Children are people and their actions contribute--perhaps much more than we appreciate. To the extent that the school directly facilitates constructive action on the part of its pupils, it facilitates community development. To the extent that it frustrates them, ignores their cultural context, imposes irrelevant and unrealistic values and largely misrepresents reality to them--in so far as it does these, it subverts constructive community development. It subverts community development in two ways: (i) by rendering inoperable potentially useful contributors --the children, (ii) by creating confusion and disillusion it contributes

to people's continuing inability to improve their lot.

In summary then, the school has the mandate to operate in the interest of community. However, ith has tended, at least in the past, to define community in terms other than the immediate community. Consequently in its promotions of change towards what it would rationalize as (a) more universal values, and (b) better ones, it has tended to set itself apart from the immediate community and often to act in opposition to it. As a result, we see the school often alien in the district with its educational efforts regarded as perhaps relevant to the vocational-advancement game but of no positive value to the immediate society. Furthermore, the fact that it does appear to hold the vocational-advancement trump card, means that what it often does for individuals, it does at the same time against their families, their friends and their neighbors.

The Teacher with Community Development

There is a story, no doubt apochryphal, that reports a small child as saying to its parents, "If you and the teacher are both trying to bring me up, isn't it about time you got together?" The earlier part of the present account might lead to the inference that a strong case could be presented for similar collaboration between education and community development. After all, if both are trying to induce change, then between them they should have a better chance of doing a reasonable job. If they find collaboration not possible then there is the distinct likelihood that their efforts will tend to neutralize each other. The implications of this last state of affairs needs discussion.

At the moment it is generally true that education is largely unaware of and manifests little interest in the activity of community development agencies in urban ghettos. At the same time, community developers have not chosen to make very much use of the school as a local organisation--either because they have not thought it advisable, or because they have been unwelcome or because the idea did not occur to them. The net result of this arms-length relationship has been that each party has had to go about its business privately, unaware of the extent to which mutual subversion was occurring. However, it is patently apparent that because community development is action and present orientated, it is increasingly being seen by the community as one of

the more readily available routes to community improvement. Thus the community tends to turn to community developers for help. Because some of the help needed is concerned with children, and because some of the help needed requires education, community developers find themselves in the educational domain. For example, because working mothers have nowhere to leave their children when school is out, community 'day care' centers get set up outside the school system. Because an exclusively custodial role is both unsatisfying and inadequate, such centers soon begin to 'educate' their charges. Similarly, adult education programs fall not upon the existing education system but on voluntary organisations instead. One case in point is the literacy training program undertaken among redundant, black, cotton-pickers in the 'bootheel' of south east Missouri. The program was organized and implemented by community developers. Other examples would be found readily. Again, as communities have become more and more aware of the remoteness of the school from their 'reality', pressure against the school builds up. In some cases it culminates in active expression, vide, for example, the Oceanhill-Brownsville incident. On the other side of the coin, when the school does become involved with the community, some interesting and not always functional side effects can be discerned. For example, although no systematic evidence is yet available, it seems as if the parent involvement programs that exist in some school districts provide a source of recruits for community activism. While evidence is again lacking, there is the distinct possibility that such a route of entry into wider community action is not as functional as it might be--either from the individual's point of view or the community's. It is one thing to be aware of a legitimate grievance (hurt), it is another to know the best way to alleviate it.

One may only conjecture at the long term consequences of a continuing hiatus between education and community development. If both share common ground and common interests, then at best, a duplication of services might result. At worst, mutual subversion would be the outcome. In the event of the latter being the case for any length of time, resolution of the conflict would become increasingly necessary. Assuming both proved intractable and neither would accommodate to the other, then one or other must succumb. It is predictable that

the relevancy criterion would thereupon be invoked and the school as we know it now might cease to exist. There are already straws in the wind to this effect. For example, store front schools, job corps, and the university of the streets, are all indicative of a trend away from the traditional school. Whether or not the existing school system will be flexible enough to bend to the winds of change is perhaps the $64,000 question. And even if it is flexible, the degree of flexibility and its direction remain imponderables.

Now, it is against this sort of background that the teacher of disadvantaged children has to operate--and the intending teacher has to be trained. It would seem then that teachers need to know some of the effects they might have on their pupils and the community whenever they take a particular stance vis à vis social change. They also need to know what organisational consequences are contingent on their actions. Merely to be supportive of a community development point of view may have some important organisational consequences. For example, if the school's definition of the teachers' role excludes such a possibility, then the teacher is in trouble in her own bailiwick. If the expectations held by pupils and parents for teachers are violated by such support then quite unexpected (and, it would seem to the teacher, unjust) opposition is predictable. It is even possible that without appropriate liaison, the teacher could find herself at odds with community developers. This would suggest that teachers would need to become sensitive to change (development) in their own community--the school and its context. Then they would be in a position to work towards having new ways of behaving, designated as acceptable.

If some reconciliation of the education and community development view points is possible, then the question becomes; what might teachers be legitimately expected to do about it? One answer has already been proffered--they should work towards the development of the school community. But to what extent should they become actively engaged in what has characteristically been the job of the community developer? It is obviously quite impracticable and unreasonable to add further to the teacher's task so that in addition to her educationally defined role, she takes on an after-school community developer one as well. On the other hand, it is apparent that many teachers have resources that the

community could use with profit. It is also apparent that the teacher's educating competency is enhanced when she is recognized as being involved in beyond-the-school aspects of her pupils' lives. Even minimal acquaintance with the pupils' outside world can provide a basis for common communication and mutual regard.

It is obvious that resolving this difficult issue would take more time than is available here--and it would need to be a collaborative resolution. Community development experts and educational experts would need to confer on possible solutions to their common problems. Then they would need to subject their propositions to test so that feasibility could be demonstrated. Whatever the solution, it could not be at the cost of either one or other of the enterprises. The educating function must not be placed in jeopardy, neither must the community development enterprise. Teachers possess expertise in educating, community developers possess expertise in developing. Neither expertise should be wasted. Rather should both be exercised in such a way that they complement each other.

Teachers and Community Development Procedures

In the previous discussion, it was suggested that teachers could profit from knowing how development might be initiated and undertaken in the community of the school. This implies that skills found fruitful in community development might not go to waste if they became part of the teacher's repertoire too. Because of this, it is necessary to give brief attention to the problem that confronts the community developer as he begins his task.

When he arrives at his target community, he does so in response to a request for help, or because his 'office' has been established in the district for some time, or because there is a clearly demonstrated need for his assistance. He finds initially not tabula rasa situation: the community is far from unformed. It may demonstrate strife, lack of cohesion, anomie and so on, but formlessness it does not have. True, the form may vary in that many discrete and contradictory elements may be identified. But to some extent there will be established, formal networks of relationships (in which the school would feature to lesser or greater degree). There would certainly be well established informal relationship networks too. However, depending on the community, these

organisation, which itself is part of an alien world that has not hesitated to stress its own superiority to theirs. Small wonder then that the teacher is first seen as enemy and only after time, as friend. That this should be the case is quite unremarkable. Such a manifestation of in-group defense against possible out-group threat is characteristic of the vast majority of human communities, large or small. To the well intentioned teacher, feeling perhaps a little virtuous over her willingness to help (or to extend charity) rebuff can come as a shock. Aggrieved, she may attempt to preserve her own ego by talking of the community's ingratitude, its resistance to help, its 'inherant' apathy or stupidity or some other convenient, stereotypic, ignorant, face-saving 'characteristic'.

Even if the teacher's activities extend only little beyond the school, there still remains a reason for her to become at least familiar with the practices and provisions of community development. If she were thus knowledgeable, it would be possible for her to do three things: (i) avoid exerting an unnecessary and deleterious influence on efforts being made by community developers, (ii) supplement and complement community development work by a judicious selection of her own activities, (iii) help others, pupils, parents and teachers, to know of and use community development resources. None of these would be likely to be a severe imposition and all would be educationally and socially defensible. In this way at least, the appearance of consistancy between service agencies could be maintained. Hopefully more would result and community development and education would, by concerted ocation, achieve more.

The discussion in this section started with the pessimistic conclusion that community development and education had basic philosophical differences and that as a consequence of these differences, both were likely to subvert each other. Two further points are worth making about this difference. First, there is no point in ignoring the difference. So teachers, even if they are fully committed to education's idealistic-society line, should be aware of the rationalisation of the other. They should also know the strengths and weaknesses of both positions and the extent to which each is, or is not, viable. If she is also encouraged and enabled to become honest and tolerant, she will be able to communicate the differences to her pupils so that they are freer to choose rationally what best suits them. If such objectivity is beyond her, then the teacher

networks might be many or few, large or small, intensely cohesive or fragmented, and so on. The community developer's first task then is to diagnose the structure of the community, thus enabling him to decide on the range of approaches most likely to be efficacious. This decision would be influenced by what he knows about initiating community action. In other words, he has to make it possible for the community to begin to mobilize its resources. Characteristically he would want to work through established lines of communication and through members of the community who exercise a measure of power--the leaders. He is thus concerned with communication theory, leadership theory, and what might perhaps be designated persuasion theory--whether it is individual persuasion or small group persuasion or large group persuasion. For this reason, the community developer's training includes skills of leadership, communication, group dynamics and even education. Necessary also for his vocation, is a certain familiarity with organisation theory, bureaucracy, formal and informal networks and similar sociological concerns. Such matters are not irrelevant to the teacher. For much of her on-the-job time she is called upon to operate in situations where the skills attendent on such knowledge would be highly relevant and very useful.

However, if the teacher's role is defined a little more broadly than conventionally, if it is thought for instance that the ghetto teacher needs to be able to communicate with the parents of her children, then some of the practical skills that are everything to community developers would be useful to her. They would not only be useful in the special situation where the concerned parent comes uncertainly and perhaps resentfully to the school, but they would be useful also in the less freely undertaken visits to home or community settings. In disadvantaged communities, the teacher is seldom readily accepted on face value, despite initial protestations of goodwill. Teachers in general, too often bring bad tidings for them to be treated with anything but extreme caution. They usually live outside the ghetto itself. They transmit signals that readily identify them as different from the inhabitants. Their clothing may be (just a little) different, their speech may be, their social rituals may be, their interests may be, and so on. As well, they represent, as we saw earlier, an alien

becomes little more than an indoctrinator--a propagandist. The second point worth noting is that when community development and educational viewpoints diverge so that their practices conflict, the result is administratively, economically and socially wasteful. Obviously rapprochement or reconciliation is desirable. Without question, ways should be sought to achieve it. However, it is not the purpose of the present project to dwell on matters that are beyond the teacher's control. To the extent that divergence between the two social agencies is due to administrational causes, the classroom teacher is likely to be able to exert little influence. If this is the case then she should not be wasting her time trying to resolve the problem. On the other hand, if the administration is sensitive to teachers individually or schools or teachers' organisations it may be possible for her to exert some constructive influence. The point being made is that there is no point in placing teachers in a position where their actions are futile and the consequences are likely to produce personal frustration. If the teacher cannot contribute to the positive resolution at the top of the community development-education philosophical hiatus, she should not try. Rather should her efforts be directed at the point where she does exercise control and professional autonomy--the classroom, her school and her community. Hopefully the powers-that-be will eventually initiate constructive action towards reconciliation, in the not too distant future. The way in which such reconciliation might be undertaken would make a subject of fascinating study in its own right--but not within the mandate of the present project.

Community Development and the Study of Education

If one examines the way in which the study of education has developed, certain clear trends are observable. They are best considered under two headings: (i) content, and (ii) process.

Content. The content of education, like women's clothes, reflects the prevailing fashion. Only in this case the fashion base is the prevailing view of knowledge and the structure of knowledge. So when the seven liberal arts were seen as encompassing all knowledge, the curriculum consisted of their 'disciplines'--rhetoric, dialectic, etc. As knowledge proliferated, as its quantity increased, there come the contingent necessity to redefine the categories to permit the inclusion

of the sciences and the technologies and the social sciences, and so on. We are now in a condition where the mastery of all knowledge in any of the fields that we now recognize as disciplines, is beyond the capacities of any single human being--let alone all the knowledge in all the disciplines. None-the-less school curricula are often designed on the assumption that a good all-round education would introduce its students to the varieties of knowledge currently available. To bring this assumption within (almost) reasonable bounds, attempts have been made first of all, to select out specified kinds of knowledge e.g. social-studies, arithmetic, language etc. as more universally representative. Then has followed--because of the complexity of the area selected--a further selection of the most relevant bits. It is at the point of this second selection that two different strategies become apparent. In one strategy the stress is placed on items of information. This is best illustrated by the recent, but now characteristically defunct, practice of having children learn the names of specified numbers of capes and bays (with the net effect that a child's failure to identify Palliser Bay is greeted with cries of disbelief and dismay by their elders, who can). The problem with this strategy lies in providing a rational basis for selecting among the vast and proliferating number of facts available. Part resolution of this problem has been achieved by the adoption of the second strategy. The second strategy places its emphasis on the rule-governed character of the discipline. Thus in mathematics it becomes not so much a matter of accumulating mathematical formulae but of learning how to think mathematically--how to play the mathematical game, if you like. In a similar way, geographers at the introductory level place emphasis on the processes of systematic examination of geographical regions. In other words, disciplines are emerging as ways of thinking--as perspectives on data or as orientations towards the interpretation of data.

Education as an academic study is no exception to this but it is a peculiar case--for the following reasons. Education is defined existentially as a social institution. That is, there are identifiable contexts in society where the process of education goes on. Depending on one's philosophical position, these contexts may be defined sociologically, virtually as designated educational collectivities e.g.

schools, universities, boards of education and so on. Alternatively they can be defined psychologically, as contexts where the education process (teaching-learning) occurs. This more roomy definition permits the inclusion of family, play groups, and in fact any situation where two or three are gathered together in interaction.

Process. Now the point that arises from the preceding discussion is that unlike mathematics and geography, there is as yet no educational perspective in the sense that there are exclusive rules for the educational game. In fact, education has had to borrow its perspectives elsewhere--seeing its existential phenomena from the perspectives of psychology, or of sociology or of philosophy. True, there are defined areas of educational psychology, educational sociology and educational philosophy but in each case the qualifying adjective stands not for a perspective but for a content. In each case, the perspective of the external discipline is used to provide insights that are relevant to what happens within the socially defined educational context. Perhaps at this point one aside should be added. Some argue for a distinction between for example, the sociology of education and educational sociology (vide Hansen & Gerstl, 1967). The sociology of education is thus seen as the application of the methods of sociology to the study of the educational institution. By contrast, educational sociology is seen as the utilization of sociologically derived findings in the service of educational agencies. Similar distinctions can be made between the psychology of education and educational psychology, and between the philosophy of education and educational philosophy. However, it is fair to say that what distinguishes the 'educationals' from the 'of educations' is their amalgamation of action and ideal. It is also fair to say that at the moment, no clear rule-governed character that could legitimately claim to be an educational perspective, is discernible.

Because education cannot call in its own perspective (in the rule-governed sense that I have specified) it is not only forced to make use of borrowed perspectives but it also finds the need to recognize contexts that have, as yet, not developed into well defined systematic and systemmic disciplines. Thus for example, educational study (and training) includes such areas as; special education; higher and adult education; vocational education; remedial education; counselling, and

so on--all of which find it necessary to rely on perspectives whose theoretical justification lies <u>outside</u> the area itself.

<u>Community Development Perspective</u>

The reason for this time-consuming (but quite inadequately elaborated) argument is now apparent. Community development is like education in that it too borrows its perspectives. Like education it calls on psychology, sociology, economics and political science, to illuminate its thinking. Like education too, it does have a philosophical position, but again, not one that is defined apart from philosophy. So, one wonders, what can be the possible use of one 'semi-discipline' to another, apart from illustrative purposes. As a matter of fact, the members of our T.T.T. consortium reached tentative agreement on the point that there was nothing trainers of teachers could learn from trainers of community developers that could not be discerned within the 'perspective' disciplines--psychology and sociology etc. In large measure then, it seems as if community development's contribution to the <u>study</u> of education may reside in the fact that comparisons can be drawn. Community development as social action can be compared with education as social action. In this way critical differences can be noted and accommodated to, and critical similarities can be discerned and used illustratively. In other words, community development's practices may provoke new insights among educationists and educational problems may from time to time prove susceptible to community development solution.

However, it should be stressed that the best use of such a resource depends on two things: (i) the recognition that illustrative material, to make sense, must be fitted into a theoretical framework--and to this extent the community development illustration must be filtered through a perspective that is itself integrated and self-consistent, and (ii) the careful review of and analysis of community development so that salient, theoretically defensible material only is selected.

With this last inuunction, we return to the conditions necessary for the further development of the material presented in this report. Planning of the behavioral objectives appropriate for a teacher training course will require collaboration between community developers and

education so that relevant material can be produced and presented effectively and with parsimony of effort. Without such concerted effort based on rationality rather than pious hopefulness we will be committed, once again, to nothing better than trial and error learning.

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